

# ABOLISHING

THE BORDERS FROM BELOW

issue # 15

bi-monthly newsletter

April 2004

**WELCOME  
TO THE LARGEST  
GULAG - EASTERN EUROPE!**

**SOLD OUT!**

**01.05.2004**

Anarchist courier from Eastern Europe

There is a justifiable need to abolish the borders between nations, societies, cultures and whatever else separates and defines us. In order that this process does not lead to the formation of new borders or other types of segregation, like those established by elitist institutions such as the EU, NATO or UN, it has to be done from below, by the people. There is an enduring need to immediately abolish all states, governments and authoritarian institutions so that communities based on common values such as freedom, respect, cooperation and solidarity can be formed. These communities in turn can lead to the transformation of the world order into one based on the above mentioned values. In order to push that process forward with support for the development of the anarchist movement over the borders we have created ...

## "Abolishing the Borders from Below" an anarchist courier from Eastern Europe

There are many reasons why it is necessary to put out this type of publication on a regular basis. There are a large number of anarchist groups in EE which could operate much more effectively with a continual exchange of ideas, tactics, experiences and materials with similarly minded groups from all over Europe and the World. It is clear that many western activists are also interested in the ideas and actions of the "eastern anarchists". We believe it to be necessary to tighten the cooperation between east and west in resisting Fortress Europe, the globalization of the world economy, and above all capitalism and its effects on our life. A mutual exchange of inspirations, motivations, and cooperation from anarchist communities all over Europe is needed on a day to day basis not only in times of international protests like the ones in Prague, Gothenburg and Genoa. The intent of this paper is to set up a better network of communication between groups and individuals from different parts of this continent. It is also a platform for regular presentation and exchange for various anarchist groups from EE itself, as well as helping to strengthen contacts between them and will hopefully lead to mutual inspiration. It also gives an opportunity for effectively organizing common campaigns and struggles. The process of creating an editorial team for AbolishingBB was a great step toward this so we appeal to everyone to make the most of the information here as effectively as possible. Finally this paper can be seen also as a mirror of our movement so every positive development in EE is coming back to us in form of motivation for further work on this magazine ...

### An anarchist courier

"AbolishingBB" is a bi-monthly bulletin with information on different political and cultural anarchist/anti-authoritarian activities in Eastern Europe.

### Editorial team

Is a part of an international anarchist collective based around east-european activists living in Berlin. Our work would be not possible without great cooperation of our correspondents around EE.

### Abolishing Collective

This collective was created in Autumn 2001 in Berlin by east-european migrant anarchists. As well as this publication the collective also organizes an ABC-like support group, a libertarian library, various solidarity actions, informative meetings, cultural events. We're cooperating with other anarchist groups, projects and campaigns (mostly in EE but not only) and supporting local and global struggle against all kinds of oppression.

### Correspondents

Our work is based on relatively stable network of correspondents from different regions of EE which are covering the most current, important and interesting issues. All people involved in AbolishingBB work on no-profit bases.



### Executors

Correspondents: Pavel (Prague - CS), Mato (Bratislava - Slovakia), Marija (Skopje - Macedonia), Saszka (Grodno - Belarus), Nastya (Minsk - Belarus), Antti (Moscow - Russia), Tuuli & Slon (Petersburg - Russia), Domas (Vilnius - Lithuania), Ivo (Riga - Latvia), Maja-Tine (Ljubljana - Slovenia), Jelena-Suncana (Zagreb - Croatia), Tavi (Timisoara - Romania), Mutlu (Ankara - Turkey), Soja (Bialystok - Poland), Michu (Torun - Poland), Laura-Zaczek (Warszawa - Poland), Rebel Mouse (Belgrad - Serbia), Lajos (Budapest - Hungary).

Publishing, editing, text treatment, photos & graphics treatment, layout, cover concept, distribution to the local distributors, web-side mastering ...: Abolishing Collective

English-proof: Emma ... Bjorn, JFK, Jessi.

Print: DreiGroschenDruck & ABB.

### Other sources of info

These are: "alterEE" EE-anarchists internet discussion list, "Warhead" - internet info service of @-activities in Poland, ABC/Poland - info bulletin, "Avtonom" russian magazine of Autonomous Action Network, Russian indymedia; KOLOKOL newsletter; Chechnya Newsletter; "AACTIV-ist Newsletter" from Romania & others.

### Co-operation

If you operate in Eastern Europe you can send to us info about protests, manifestations and other actions going on in your region ... you can present activities of groups, collectives and projects working in your neighbourhood ... you can inform us about up-coming political and cultural events ... you can present statements of your group on local or global issues, you can express your ideas, opinions or criticism ... everything from anarchist perspective. You can join our redaction collective as a correspondent sending regular reports covering different forms of activities in your region. Please texts send to:

[abolishingBB@hotmail.com](mailto:abolishingBB@hotmail.com)

Please send your graphics/photos only to:

[abolishingBBphotos@hotmail.com](mailto:abolishingBBphotos@hotmail.com)

If you operate in other parts of the world you can help with distribution. You can spread information about this publication or just make the most of the information here as effectively as possible.

## Distribution

We are looking for people/collectives ready to distribute this publication on a regular basis in their regions (especially in southern Europe). Previous issues are as well available. Contact for distribution:

[wielkowitsch@hotmail.com](mailto:wielkowitsch@hotmail.com)

More complex information on page 5.

## Free copies / Print-Rin

Free copies go to all info-shops and libertarian libraries in Eastern Europe (which get in touch with us) as well as to our correspondents who supply a postal address. At the moment we print by ourselves 1200 copies of each issue, and there are some local groups which make more copies by themselves after our agreement on that.

## Financial side

Unfortunately until now we were not able to cover our editorial costs only through selling the newspaper so the money for printing is collected as well through our breakfast-benefits performed regularly in autonomous center "KÖPI" (Berlin) as well as through our pizza-circus, and benefits from outside.

## bad *enGliSH* reputation

As you probably noticed *the english* which is used in this newspaper is very far from its grammatical and stylistic ideals. It is mostly because this is *english* in which most of our correspondents, big part of our readers and most of us (as the editors) are communicating. So obviously we choose to use *english* which is understandable for ourselves. Secondly, we decided to be rather "*bad english* reputation" newspaper as to rise a level of language and this way eliminate probably 30-60% of our regular readers, especially in south and eastern Europe.

## AbolishingBB online

You can find us as well online under:

[www.abb.hardcore.lt](http://www.abb.hardcore.lt)

This website is from one side a source of information about our collective but basically - an archive of all texts which appeared in our newspaper in the past. Some of them will never lose of its worth! Check it out (some chapters are still under construction).

## Deadlines

For all materials are obliging following deadlines:

# 16 - 15.05.2004

# 17 - 15.07.2004

Latest developments in Eastern-Europe seen and written by anarchist activists from a region.  
Highlights of AbolishingBB #15

## pages 6-9



"I will like to invite all of you to Warsaw for these days"

## European Economic Forum & Alternative Economic Forum in Warsaw

Building a Critique of the New European Economics

## pages 10-11



## SOCIAL EXPLOSION IN EASTERN SLOVAKIA

"Collectively organized and carried out expropriations in Slovakia as an answer on government reforms of welfare system"

## pages 16-18



"Undoubtedly somebody govern Russia, but who exactly we don't know, and who knows it - don't tell the true"

## AFTER "VOTE PUTIN OR DIE" ELECTIONS IN RUSSIA

INTERVIEW WITH ACTIVISTS FROM MOSCOW

## pages 22-27



Current repressive developments in Russia and Poland. Reported by:

## ABC-MOSCOW & ABC/ACK-POLAND

## pages 28



"Save the Zengo from a NATO radar station"

"NATO is functioning as the greatest army of the existing system"

## RESISTANCE AGAINST NATO'S PRESENCE AND CAPITALIST POLITICS IN HUNGARY AND TURKEY

## pages 30-31



"Polish repressive forces, so efficient when it comes to fighting anarchists and anti-fascists seem to be not very willing to put same standards for nazi scum. Well, nothing surprising for anyone interested in subject. State and nazis often go hand in hand."

## ANTIFA REPORT POLAND



"Would it really be more difficult to liberate Chechnya than Iraq?"

## ABOUT CONFLICT IN CHECHNYA FROM DIFFERENT PERSPECTIVES

fragments of "Chechnya Newsletter"

Reminder about our new chapters: COLUMNS BY CORESPONDENTS (pages 35-36) & COUNTER-CULTURE (pages 20-21)

# And what happened to the dogs?

Year 1997. The then NATO general secretary, Javier Solana, is saying: "...the EU members are treating the east european countries as dogs - they threw them the NATO membership as a bone-in order to turn their attention away from EU membership".

May the 1st 2004. Inbetween Javier Solana is exercising a function of the coordinator of EU-exterior politics holding the bones in his hands. And what happened to the dogs? The dogs are after all entering the gate of neoliberal Gulag under the official EU extention. From now on the dogs have very little to say about their lives as they have been planned exactly for them. The typical EU distribution of wealth, taking from the bottom to the top, will be introduced to the East. The free market under EU conditions bring about a result of mass unemployment which is used as an instrument of wage dumping by forcing unemployed people to take crap jobs. The subvention of consumption, well known and appreciated by eastern europeans, will be changed by order of the EU (so called conditions) into subvention of supply, what becomes profitable for capitalists and corrupt politicians at costs to normal citizens. The process of the dismantling of the social back up will be pushed forward parallel with the decrease of the pensions and social supports. The medical system will suffer. With the so called adaption of EU standards, the prices will go up, wages (if paid at all) will reduce, if not directly then with more expensive services (i.e. education, public transport, electricity, water). The constitution of the EU blesses this exploitation, because the EU politicians don't want to distinguish between the terms "democracy" and "corruption" and they serve as a waiter to capitalism's concerns, but not to the people.

Until the dogs start to bite ...

The east european communities have had good experience at abolishing dictatorships, at least real-socialist ones. There is no doubt that it's the right time to do the same with an equally inhumane dictatorship, called capitalism. Otherwise, held in the memory of many east-europeans the soviet Gulags remains alive. In these days we will witness the establishment of a new model of workcamp: neoliberal EU-Gulag "Eastern Europe".

The upcoming EU-enlargement is the most significant event for the whole region. Of course the decisions have already been made (by a few) a long time ago, so that economical neo-colonialisation of EE won't be stopped in a legislative way. That's good. From this moment people have no other choice but to realize that there are no existing institutions or structures which represent their rights and real needs. Therefore they should put into life ideas of self-organization and self-government, if they want to have any influence on their own lives. And it is good to hear more and more signals around EE, proving that these processes have begun. It is not only about being against but as well to create alternatives. Alternatives towards both EU-politics and strong nationalistic tendencies.

The next big event where some of these alternatives

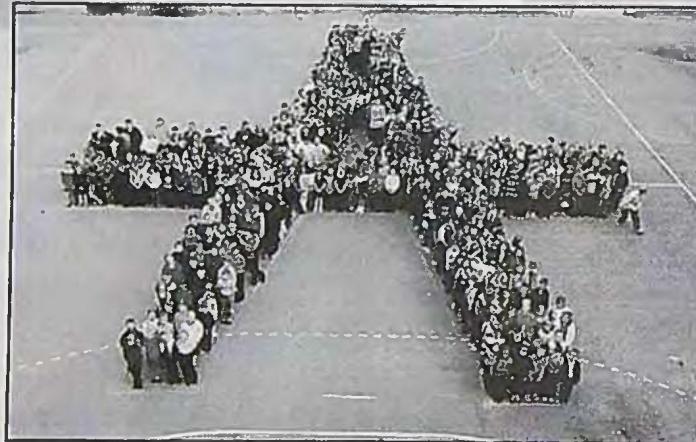
am media, directed against the coalition of anti-authoritarian and libertarian groups, however in principle is very ugly, is also sometimes helpful. Especially because it consists mostly of contradictions and paradoxes: for example, telling the public worldwide that Poland is a country free of radical opponents to neoliberal politics, whilst introducing security measures to the capital city, which polish society only knows from the state of war period in 1981. Also through inviting great european decision makers in the name of the polish population ... and at the same time telling all of Warsaw's inhabitants to leave the city for that period. Or celebrating the great day of reduction of the western borders, and 3 days before that closing (probably in cooperation with the German side) these borders in order to stop "personas non-gratas" or people which see this aspect in a different way. This

and new strategies is opening the very intensive growing frustration among EE populations? We hope to see these topics discussed during the Alternative Economic Forum in Warsaw or PGA conference in Belgrad. We are very glad to see that similar topics are on the agenda of some anti-authoritarian conferences out of EE, like NEURO (last month in Munich), or BUKO (20-23 May; Kassel; Germany). We will try not to miss these moments, you shouln't too!

Of course the upcoming events in Warsaw are not all you can read about in this issue. We would like to turn your attention especially to the report about the social explosion in Eastern Slovakia and the interview with a russian anarchists as commentator to the last "Vote Putin or Die" elections in Russia. On this topic you will find in issue a gallery of anti-Putin posters made by various russian artists during the Putins election campaign.

In the end we would like apologize to all of those who met with any problems communicated by us. Editorial team of AbolishingBB is facing a permanent rotation of people as well as a swing in motivations by particular members. Our main goal is providing you with our publication on a regular basis and at the same time developing a quality of contents, - it seems to be the only things we are able to keep going. But due to organizational troubles which are creating the holes inside our structures, sometimes you may have a very hard time with the level of communication with us. It has even happened that we didn't receive some financial support for our project due to misunderstandings amongst the collective. We just hope that we have not scared anyone of you from cooperating with us. Especially as both our organizational and financial problems do not seem to have an end. With this extremely optimistic note we are finishing our regular editorial proclamation and invite you to check the content of this issue. Read *AbolishingBB*, give it to others to read, and make the most of the information here as effectively as possible. We will be back to you in the beginning of June, hopefully with better news from both ourselves and the region ...

*AbolishingBB editors*



are going to be presented, will take place in Warsaw during the European Economic Summit. And even if we would prefer such events like WEF/EEF - Summit never taking place anywhere on the Earth, we would risk an opinion that it comes at the right time and to the right place. With every month people in Poland seem to be more conscious about the real face of the neoliberal world and its European tools - EEF or EU. This event, however successful or not-successful will be the street protest, it will be a great opportunity for the alter-globalist-anti-authoritarian movement in Poland to present very loudly their position and their alternatives. This message has a big chance to reach the majority of polish society and probably many more people in the region. The propaganda conducted by the polish government and mainstre-

chain of paradoxes should not amaze anyone. Those who have declared to serve the western capitalist interests, but are still pretending to make the best for the local society, need to lie every 5 seconds and sink in a sea of contradictions. And this is for Polish and other east european elites the most requiring task in the present times. What these developments are bringing the whole east european populations, we have already presented in the very beginning of this text. But what challenges is it putting in front of all anarchist, anti-authoritarian and libertarian communities in our region? How will the melt down of east european western borders and the creation of new ones within Eastern Europe, affect the recently very much promising approachement among anti-authoritarian movements in EE? What possibilities

**ALL YOU NEED TO KNOW ABOUT OUR DISTRIBUTION****AUSTRALIA**

outtheos@yahoo.com.au

**AUSTRIA**Info Laden 10; postfach  
173; A-1100 Wien**BELARUS**dragga@375crew.org  
Minsk**BELGIUM**Anarchistische Infotheek  
Annonciadenstraat 16

9000 Gent

**BULGARIA**Anarcho Sprotiva  
Collective**CROATIA**suncansfema@yahoo.com  
Zagreb**DANMARK**Maximum O.D. d.i.y.  
lvalme@osir.dk

Kopenhagen

**ENGLAND**jon@activedistribution.org  
London**ex-SOVIET UNION**

cis itasitihki@tao.ca

**FINLAND**

p.milkila@luuluku.com

**FRANCE**wawan@no-log.org  
Lyon**GERMANY**wielkowitsch@hotmail.com  
Berlin**GREECE**Lily Collective  
polbleibi@yahoo.com**HOLLAND**gryczman1@wp.pl  
Amsterdam**HUNGARY**

goantik@freemail.hu

**ISRAEL**

nabbiliyy48@yahoo.co.uk

**THE PREVIOUS ISSUES ARE STILL AVAILABLE DIRECTLY  
FROM OUR GROUND-ZERO OFFICE IN BERLIN**

**issue # 10 - June 2003:** "ANARCHY 2003" meeting in Warsaw; Anti-Border Conference in Warsaw; anti-border camps in Poland and Romania (last calls for the actions); statement from First Annual Balkan Anarchist Bookfair; press release from ASI; Anti-war protests are continuing in EE (reports & statements); MayDay 2003 across Eastern Europe (reports & statements); DIY scene report from Lithuania; First conference of SAF / Social Anarchist Federation in Ljubljana; Croatian police repression against Bicycle Caravan in Zagreb (story); History and present situation of CAF / Craiova Anarcho Front; AntiFascist reports from Russia and Czech Rep; IOM - EU's racist policies and its tools; ORA-S - Czech @group about their present politics, about media and about their publication ALARM; About East/West movements cooperation (article by AA/Moscow activist); Exiling from Hungary (border experiences by Serbian anarchist); ABC/ACK Poland: Communities in Struggle (list with about 150 @-projects in EE).

**issue # 11 - August 2003:** editorial proclamation; Oppression of freedom of speech in Belarus (call for solidarity with "Navinki"); 3 pages of short info from around EE; Class conflict as an aphrodisiac for successful communication (IAS Serbia); Two weeks of anti-border and anarchist activities in Poland (report); Protest camp in Azov in South Russia (report); Anti-border camp in Dotjan on Greek-Macedonian Border (report); No-Border camp in Romania (report); Chechnya is the dead end of statist logics (statement of Autonomous Action Moscow); the Anarchocommunist Alternative AKA (founding declaration of a new group - Czechia); Platformism without illusions (NEFAC interviews ORAS); Bicycle Caravan through Balkans (travel and action report); One more villain on the international scene (article by L.Akai); State's Violence (text by Rebel Mouse); East-West Meeting of AnarchoSyndicalists and Revolutionary Anarchists (historical text by Anti Rautainen); Communities in Struggle.

**issue # 12 - October 2003:** Workers' Protests in Poland (several texts); Proposal for next year NoBorder Camp; 2 pages of short reports from around EE; "Two houses evicted and no home for squatters in Ljubljana (story); Campaign for community center in Zagreb (report); Squat being created in Belgrade (report); News from Autonomist Collective - Torun (report); "Dealing with war, war makers and apathetic society" (Chechnya); "Reasons of War in Chechnya"; "No War between the people - no peace between the classes" (Chechnya); Half interview - half masquerade with NAVINKI (Belarus); Volja (presentation of Russian magazine); Kolokol Newsletter; Falkor I.C.Y. newsletter; "The EU, anti-EU movement and feminist perspectives" (Poland); Rainbow Keepers conference (report); "City rising against methanol terminal" (Russia - report); ABC-moscow: Repression in Romania; Calendar of workers' protests in Poland 2002; Communities in Struggle;

**issue # 13 - December 2003:** Growing resistance against McDonalds and big business (collection of texts from Russia, Poland, Macedonia, Serbia, Lithuania and Romania); short infos from around EE; Uzbekistan and Western Capitalist interests (part 1); Squatting activities (reports from Petersburg, Skopje, Lithuania and Torun/Poland); Interview with Ratibor T. Trinovic from Serbian AST; Summary of XVII General Assembly of Polish Anarchist Federation; presentation of various anarchist publications; reports on fascist activities in Romania, Poland and Lithuania; "Its all the same shit" elections in Croatia; workers struggle in Poland, Ukraine and Russia; and much much more !!!

**issue # 14 - February 2004:** The Alternative Economic Forum, Warsaw Poland April 28-30 2004 (presentation of alternative Summit intentions and topics); Building a critique of the new European Economics; Terrorism: the bogeyman of XXI century (public announcement); Peoples Global Action (3rd European Conference and historical perspectives in Europe); Reports from squatting activities; Repressions (Process against Krasnodar anarchist; International solidarity needed for Romanian anarchists; When civil cops are calling - work of secret services); RAZAM! (interview with Belarusian group); Countercultur pages (The case of Nieznalska); Workers Working on their own instead of dismissals (tragic situation of Silesia region in Poland); Campaign against The US Military Base in Poland; CAUCASUS BLOCK: Uzbekistan and Western capitalist interests (part 2); Who needs to take Georgia under control (article); Neither war, either peace: Caucasus (Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan); A call for an International Day of Action against War in Chechnya; Columns by Correspondents (Poland, Czechia, Slovakia, Russia); and much more !

**ITALY**Central & South  
riotclone@autistici.org  
North

autocontrol@panuroic.org

**NORWAY**kaosborgen@hotmail.com  
Moss**POLAND**Oficyna Wydawnicza  
BRACTWA TROJKA  
M. Hojak; os. Czeka 17/8  
61-287 Poznan**ROMANIA**Activ-ist Distro  
pinkpanthers@k.ro  
Timisoara**SLOVAKIA**CSAF  
poste Restante 850 07  
Bratislava 57**SLOVENIA**Tine: frece@volja.net  
Ljubljana**SOUTH AFRICA**Zabalaza Books;  
Postnet Suite 116  
Private Bag X42;  
Braamfontein 2017**SWEDEN**

bokhandeln.info@gmx.net

**TURKEY**abcankara@yahoo.com  
Ankara**USA**

gluhoeffer@graffiti.net

**Distributors  
needed!**

If you think that you can help with filling that network up, especially in Island, Spain, Switzerland or Portugal ...  
LET US KNOW

IF YOU WISH TO DISTRIBUTE ABOLISHINGBB IN YOUR REGION HERE ARE CURRENT WHOLESALE PRICES INCLUDING POSTAGE, FOR EUROPE & OVERSEAS. WE ACCEPT WELL CONCEALED CASH OR INTERNATIONAL POSTAL MONEY ORDERS PAYABLE TO:

**ABFB; Samariterstr. 32; 10247 Berlin; Germany**

**! ATTENTION - NEW PRICES - ATTENTION - NEW PRICES !****TILL 5 COP.****EUROPE - 6 EURO****WORLD - 7 EURO;****AIRMAIL - 12 EURO****TILL 8 COP.****EUROPE - 8 EURO;****WORLD - 8 EURO;****AIRMAIL - 16 EURO****TILL 11 COP.****EUROPE - 10 EURO;****WORLD - 10 EURO;****AIRMAIL - 20 EURO****TILL 17 COP.****EUROPE - 14 EURO;****WORLD - 14 EURO;****AIRMAIL - 28 EURO****TILL 23 COP.****EUROPE - 18 EURO;****WORLD - 18 EURO;****AIRMAIL - 36 EURO**

**DISTRIBUTION DISTRIBUTION DISTRIBUTION DISTRIBUTION**

# EUROPEAN ECONOMIC FORUM IN WARSAW

**We will decide about our future!**

An invitation to the broad alterglobalist movement of Europe and the World  
by Polish Libertarian Milieu Organizing the Anti-Summit "Wa29"

Dear friends,

On April 28-30 the European Economic Forum will take place in Warsaw. As you know, this took

that they have chosen to hold the event in the Palace of Culture in the very center of Warsaw. The choice of this place shows how sure

fights haven't been seen since the 80s. Other social groups are also in an equally bad situation. Social frustration concerns many

though this might be a problem on account of the very modest funds that we have available.

We invite

everybody who shares the ideals of fighting suffocating neoliberalism. we'll show the army of technocrats, politicians

and financiers/sharks who are coming here that nobody gave them any right to decide for us.

**Let's all meet  
in Warsaw  
on 28-30 of April**

**We will decide  
about  
our future!**

*Polish  
Libertarian  
Milieu  
organizing  
the Anti-Summit  
Wa29*



Polish authorities don't hide the fact that they would like the EEF to be transferred to Warsaw for good. Besides the prestige of hosting such an event, they want to show the rest of the world that they have no problems with opponents of neoliberalism here in Poland. They know that the alterglobalist movement is weak and disorganized in Poland. They want to use this to show the world that while they have tens of thousands of demonstrators in the streets, riots and closing off whole sections of the city, Poland will be calm and orderly. They are so sure of this

they are that nobody can bother them. The decision-makers in Davos pointed out that this event will decide if it will be permanently held in Warsaw. So it is important that we foil their plans. We have to show them that we won't tolerate their politics.

The social situation is favourable because the incompetence and corruption of all consecutive governments makes more and more people open their eyes to what's going on. The effects of the policies of both the right-wing and left-wing governments in Poland have led to over 20% unemployment in the country and this is growing. (Among youth, not counting graduates of higher education, this figure is twice as high.) More than 60% of people live at or under the poverty line. Last year it came to violent miners' protests in Warsaw. Such

social groups and professions.

The libertarian and left anti-authoritarian milieus started preparing late last year but we won't hide the fact that without significant support from abroad we won't be able to organize large-scale protests. We are open to cooperation and welcome you here. We will accept any kind of help with open arms. This will be the first action on this scale in Poland. From our side we will try to ensure legal protection and basic medical care during the action to the best of our capabilities, a place to make banners and so on. In places we will have translators, we'll organize a list of affordable accommodations, the Food not Bombs activists from different cities in Poland will prepare food for those who need it. We will try to organize the technical infrastructure for Indymedia alt-



**We have to show them that we won't tolerate their politics. The social situation is favourable because the incompetence and corruption of all consecutive governments makes more and more people open their eyes to what's going on ...**

# EUROPEAN ECONOMIC FORUM IN WARSAW

# EUROPEAN ECONOMIC FORUM IN WARSAW

## Alternative Economic Forum

### BUILDING A CRITIQUE OF THE NEW EUROPEAN ECONOMICS

On April 29-30, the European Economic Summit will be hosted in Warsaw, Poland. The choice of venue is significant. On the eve of EU expansion, business leaders will discuss, among other topics, structural economic reforms which will change the face of European economic life for generations. Anarchists, as always when such meetings come to town, plan to stage mass protests. These protests will no doubt attract attention, but people also need to articulate their criticisms of different economic problems in a clear way. For this reason we called for an Alternative Economic Summit to be held parallel to the EEC.

Critics of such summits as the WEF point out the fact that business driven by profits and based on exploitation just has nothing in common with the world we want to try to build. Although this is a basic premise, we realise that also in developing a dialogue with members of the general public who have been brought up on the promises of government and business leaders, we also need to be more exact in developing a critique of what is going on; we hope that the AES will not only allow people to exchange their knowledge and points of view, but will also help people to understand some issues in a new way and learn more about specific economic processes in Europe and in the world.

One question we should all be asking is which structural reforms European governments plan to take in order to become more "competitive" on the world market. With the euro at such a high, cutting production costs

seems like the direction companies will tend to, and with such cheap labour markets now part of the EU, we can now see all the various excuses businesses will use to abandon their commitments to more expensive labour forces and social welfare. We can see the incursion of Thatcherite economics into countries where a few years ago (and even officially now), they tend to talk of "social partnerships". Just how

much will be allowed to be eroded has yet to be seen, but if the Stability Pact is to be tightly enforced, governments will be forced to slash spending and raise revenues from new sources, such as introducing university tuition.



From the Eastern European point of view, we must also examine the costs of development and the realities of a Dual-Track Europe. On the one hand, there seems to be a good deal of awareness but on the other, a sort of resignation to the process. Most of Eastern Europe has been forced to liberalize their economies and adapt to the world market and erode their social protection programs to a greater extent than many countries of Western Europe, particularly as the tax base in these countries do not compare to the richer West. Although some Eastern Europeans are optimistic, many feel they have no choice in the matter except to try to knock themselves out education themselves as to get a slightly more advantageous place on the top of the heap. Many people expect years of survival wages, long-term indebtedness and lessening social security.

One question we should all be asking is which structural reforms European governments plan to take in order to become more "competitive" on the world market. With the euro at such a high, cutting production costs

### S C H E D U L E

#### WEDNESDAY, 28 APRIL

12:00-20:00

- \* *Recession and Structural Reform in Europe and its Impact on Workers* - Laure Akai
- \* *The Effectiveness of Citizens' Participation in Relation to Investments which Negatively Affect the Environment* - Małgorzata Micińska

- \* *Solidarity Trade as an Alternative to Corporate Globalization* - (Panel + Film) Blazej Dziedzic, Kalina Feith

- \* *LETS* - Krzysztof Lewandowski

- \* *Environmentally and socially harmful impacts of international development finance; alternative solutions and public participation* - presentation by CEE Bankwatch. [www.bankwatch.org](http://www.bankwatch.org)

- \* *Self-Management and Alternative Forms of Self Organization* - panel led by Rafał Górecki

Not confirmed - will be replaced with alternative options if cancelled:

- \* *The Development of Russian Capitalism and its Impact on Workers* - MPST Moscow

- \* *Effects of EU Membership in the Czech Republic* - FSA

#### THURSDAY, APRIL 29

17:00 - 21:00

- \* *The Business of War, Business Interests in Iraq, Chechnya* - Panel

- \* *The Impact of the War in*

Chechnya - Panel, Committee Free Caucuses

- \* *The Palestine Ghetto* - Followed by Film ISM, Berlin, Viva Palestina, Poland
- \* *Collectives and Cooperatives, Theory and Practice* - open discussion

#### Friday, APRIL 30

12:00 - 20:00

- \* *A Criticism of Economic Globalization* - Rafał M. Leszczynski Jr.

- \* *Voices from the Edge: Romanians living along the Hungarian border: the new EU frontier with slide show* - Margareta Leleia

- \* *Globalization and the Destruction of Minor Ethnic Groups* - Rafał Leszczynski Sr.

- \* *Economic Benefits of Drug Policy Reform* - Panel, group work, followed by film Joep Oomen - ENCOD, Artur Radosz - Kanaba

- \* *The Impact of EU Accession on Poland* - Panel, Laure Akai

- \* *Presentation, discussion on Parecon* - Andrej Grubacic, Jakub Gawlikowski

- \* *Labor Roundtable Discussion*

More detailed description to follow on [www.altermost.org.pl/aes](http://www.altermost.org.pl/aes)

Please note that some events will run parallel. A more detailed schedule will follow in a couple of weeks. Due to security concerns, the venue will be announced later.

# EUROPEAN ECONOMIC FORUM IN WARSAW

## EUROPEAN ECONOMIC FORUM IN WARSAW \* EUROPEAN ECONOMIC FORUM IN WARSAW

**Dis-information campaign: Police and Media are doing their job the best they can. It means, they make every day the fools from themselves**

When one has not any more arguments to convenient society to his/her polities, shortly before the use of institutional violence, any tactic is resorted to discredit and scare the opponents. Time is running out, therefore polish police and certain members of the press have in their panic gone overboard with their hunt and dis-information campaign against the April's anti-EEF activities.

In the middle of March police started to threaten the inhabitants of Warsaw's biggest squat, Fabryka. Squatters have been told that if they don't want to get closed down, they must abandon the squat for the days around the actions when, apparently, the police will be there making sure nobody uses it. They were 'promised' to be able to return later if they cooperate with the police - if not... Obviously authorities are trying to limit to a minimum the amount of free spaces where activists could organize themselves before and during the protests. It should be mentioned that this kind of strategy is actually something new in Poland (not harassing the squatters, but acting in strategically a smart way). So, it can be assumed that there must be recent and ongoing intensive cooperation and exchange of experiences with masters of repression from the other european countries.

Police have also actively been going around to shops, offices and even private homes in the center of the city, telling them about the upcoming onslaught. Paradoxically, some of the activists live and work in these places too, so a few people have been visited by the police to warn them against themselves. This has been combined with awful paranoia that Poland will be attacked by terrorists. One of activists working in one of the buildings that is on 'terrorist alert' reporting about all sorts of security measures (turnstiles at the entrance, locked exits, etc.) are being combined. That means that for example, if something like a fire broke out, she and all the other people working in this place would be fried. At least in the very last moments of their lives they would still feel safe from Osama Bin Laden as well as from the anarchist travelling circus of mass destruction. All in all, together with this terrorist propaganda and a few idiotic articles in the papers they have managed to create an element of fear.

The other news the Warsaw police keep spreading is about some mythical football hooligans from Silesia and Szczecin who plan to come into the crowd and make trouble. With the spreading of such information, we can smell two pieces of real news. One is that the police and intelligence services are doing everything to really attract football hooligans, not only from these two mentioned towns, to come to Warsaw, and in this way make out of the protests exactly this what the media and police are preparing themselves for. Second is, that the chiefs of police are completing the reasons to introduce even more repressive regulations (or if you like: to reduce citizens rights to minimum) to get permission for putting as many uniforms as possible on the streets of Warsaw in these days. It could be quite interesting to find out what kind of reaction would follow an explanation of this fact to some leaders of Polish hooligans. However, they are always still a bit smarter than the cops, so maybe they see through these plans by themselves already.

There is as well information that the police

have been providing material to at least one, if not all newspapers and encouraging them to write very negative articles. As local activists have sometimes very good contacts with some journalists or even editors of magazines, they have heard of a few incidents already where journalists have been ordered to write things with a very negative slant. Good news in this is that some of the journalists have refused to do this.

So far, the absolutely worse paper has been *Zycie Warszawy* (*The Warsaw's Life*). For example they claim that antiglobalists from France, Germany, Switzerland, Spain and Italy, including Ya Basta, have reserved one of the most expensive hotels in the city, the Hyatt (located near the parliament) for the time of the demo. The message behind this fantastic story is: "antiglobalists will attack the city", and even do it from the Hyatt hotel. No place is safe!

*Zycie Warszawy*, is almost never considered by any thinking beings as a relevant source of information. In the last 2 months it seems to have became an official press organ of summit organisers and its intelligence and repressive arms. From whose size an initiative for these kind of blind subordination came out is maybe an interesting question, but not so important in the end. One thing is clear: both sides are hoping to profit with this cooperation (usual goal) and hopefully both will pay a price. On a personal level it is to be believed that a large part of Warsaw people will sooner or later recognize in this media-swindle many similarities to the way how some things have worked in this country before 1989. This way of treatment is very unloved in Poland, especially

if they do it not only in a way the Government wants (as it was in the past) but as well because they are hoping for good business. One could ask if this is not a perfect moment for exploitation of independent media in that country, such ones like Indymedia or activists street newsletters. In such a situation providing the polish people with relevant information became obviously a most important goal of the anti-EEF activities. Here is a comment by one of the Warsaw activists to the ZW attitude: *For the publishers of ZW, 'this' (protests) is an image of chaos, of violence which inevitably accompanies antiglobalists. For us, 'this' is the real story behind the image. It's a story that ZW and other papers, informed of this case several times by protesting activists from Warsaw, was made aware of and chose to ignore. Because riots in the city sells papers; stories about the police framing and beating protestors, caught on film, about brutality and lies - these stories don't need to be told. The press has long abandoned its false commitments to 'inform people', to 'shed light on the truth' or even to explore it; the stories behind the images that the press exploits to sell papers and make money are worthless if not sensational and to be avoided if they prove uncomfortable for the powers that be.'*

Whatever will happen in Warsaw in the end of April, it will remind many people of the middle of December 1981, the days of introducing a state of war in Poland. This kind of atmosphere will accompany Polish accession (anexion) into EU. Very symbolical moment ... by Laura Akai / Veronica Sinewall

**Press Statement  
of The Network of Polish  
Anti-Authoritarian and  
Libertarian Groups  
organizing  
Anti-Summiti Wa29**

The upcoming European Economic Forum has recently become the subject of several articles in the press. Journalists have devoted most of their attention to the planned protests. If one were to rely on the descriptions put forward by the government of Warsaw president Lech Kaczyński, vice-president Władysław Stasiuk, and Crisis Management Bureau director Lucjan Belza - the upcoming events would become reminiscent of an imminent catastrophe. At the top of the list of possible dangers are who the government refers to collectively as "antiglobalists". The city's leaders warn against attacks perpetrated by "antiglobalists in 40 different places" and describe them as perfectly organized groups who will let no one and nothing stand in their way. They insist that antiglobalists are even more dangerous than football fans. This absurd vision of the antiglobalist protests results in even more absurd plans for securing the Forum. Director Belza, in one comment for the press, expressed regret that he will have only 10,000 policemen at his disposal. He also regrets that he may not use military backup, because that would be "against the law and frowned upon by the international community." President Kaczyński has also suggested that the nation's border security be heightened for the duration of the EEF. The fact that the President of Warsaw is thinking in military terms is further proven by the hurried hiring of former GROM Chief Polko. As to the people planning protests during the EEF, we are unable to explain what has been told to Mr. Kaczyński and Mr. Belza, or who has told it, but he or she must obviously have a vivid imagination. In our opinion, the City's comments on the preparations for the EEF, as well as their approval for holding the Forum in Warsaw in the first place both undermine the credibility of the government of Warsaw. The depiction of opponents of exploitation and injustice as perfectly organized attack squads proves the ignorance of the authors. Furthermore, it builds up an atmosphere of imminent confrontation and works as a self-fulfilling prophecy. Both the City as well as the authors of scandalous articles (obviously seeking cheap sensationalism) will be responsible for attracting people who want to take part in a riot rather than speak up against globalization.

Concentrating on protests and depicting visions of three-day riots may very well be a successful method in the fight for readership, but it is surely a far cry from responsible journalism,

We do not intend to comment on



## EUROPEAN ECONOMIC FORUM IN WARSAW \* EUROPEAN ECONOMIC FORUM IN WARSAW

every audacious statement put forth by president Kaczyński, nor will we comment on each sensational article in the press. We will, however, take advantage of our right to voice our opinions. This right is not bestowed upon us by any office or government bureau: it is our irrevocable citizens' right.

We believe that the attention given by certain journalists to their own invention, i.e. the riots, has been a successful method of turning attention away from the core of the problem and away from the very reason for our protests. Why is it that only yesterday, a couple of weeks before the Summit, was it officially announced what topics will be debated upon? Why is it that no one has, as of yet, raised the issue of the costs that the inhabitants of the downtown area will have to face as a result of its being closed off? Has anyone even asked Warsawians whether or not they agree to the paralysis of the city of 2 million? Why is everyone more worried about a window being broken at the local McDonald's than about the losses suffered by the owners of stores, cafes, galleries and offices as a result of shutting down the downtown area for three days?

Taking into account the above circumstances, we demand that the upcoming EEF summit in Warsaw be called off, and that the government consult the public if and when they plan similar events in the future.

Koalicja Grup Wolnościowych "Antyszczyt Wa29"  
www.wa29.org  
www.antyszczyt.wpl

*"We hope for many 'unorganised' people too, as social frustration is immense".  
"It seems that some 60% of people are on our side".  
"The idiots got scared of their own propaganda".  
"I will like to invite all of you to Warsaw for these days".*

## Interview with activists from Wa-29 Coalition

*AbolishingBB: How you feel knowing, that decisions concerning you and population of whole continent gonna be taken few hundred meters from your home?*

Z: Honestly to say, always when I was seeing big actions on the streets of different countries and demonstrations of thousands, I was asking myself what would be if it happened in Poland. "What a luck, that nobody proposes e.g. Warsaw as host for some of these summits" I thought. Because we are so few here, our counterdemonstrations will look irrelevant comparing to protests in other countries. But now it comes. Judgement Day is coming for polish alterglobalists. The feeling? I feel some ache in the stomach and I hope it is because of WEF and not ulcers.

*ABB: What is the position of Warsaw's inhabitants concerning this event?*

Z: Inhabitants of Warsaw are recently being scared out with alterglobalists due to propaganda of politicians and media. I don't know yet how much influential will be this propaganda. Many people became immune already against anything they hear on TV and what bring newspapers, but there is many of those too, which are expecting the worst scenarios from us. It says "they will come, drink and rob". We are explaining that there is no point to panic, for sure some part of population of the city will survive... And anyway our petrol supplies are limited.

*ABB: Are people in Warsaw, and generally Poles, seeing to some extent connection between their local problems and policy of such institutions as WEF/EEF?*

Z: I think majority isn't conscious of these facts. There is no better possibility than this one to make them realize that. In official media there are present mostly 2 pro-

arguments for the WEF Summit. One is a prestige for city and whole country and second is excellent occasion to attract foreign capital. When is said anything about the costs, than they try to blame alterglobalists, as simply because of them all security measures, police, zones and fences to protect delegates. We are now starting with our counter informational campaign in Warsaw, we will see in how far we would be able to destroy stereotypes. Supposeably question poll was made about fear of alterglobalists, and it seems that some 60% of people are on our side. I hope that's truth.

*ABB: How wide is spectre of groups and organizations, which already decided to express their dissent towards WEF event? Under which slogans particular of them want to protest?*

Z: Surely in protests anarchists will participate, as they undertook the main organizational tasks and builded *Coalition of Libertarian Groups*, which prepares Anti-Summit. Except of us their participation confirmed: Party "Greens 2004" (which supposeably is inspired by their german counterpart), trotskist "Worker's Democracy", socialist party "New Left", polish "ATTAC", Polish Movement of Unemployed unions - "Solidarnosc 80" (oppositional towards big NSZZ "Solidarnosc") and created some 3 years ago (after wave of strikes and protests) "Polish-wide Protest Committee". Their own demo are planning to make activists from light drugs legalization movement "Kanaba". We hope for many "unorganised" people too, as social frustration is immense.

Slogans are of course depending on their authors: Socialists - "We want social Europe", trotskists - "Against Europe of capital and war", greens - "We want world of

equal chances" ... Anarchists don't have common slogan, except of this that we're against this summit.

*ABB: How is the relation between anarchists and all these groups concerning anti-summit preparations?*

Z: We decided, that there's no sense to create tight contacts, we just agreed on common demonstrations and some coordination activities.

*ABB: What kind of people you think can still appear on the streets spontaneously?*

*Artists? Intellectuals? Students? Workers? Hooligans from the suburbs, or maybe general Jaruzelski leading cavalry?*

We don't know ourselves. All media are saying stuff like: "army of antiglobalists will clash with the police army", etc. One newspaper wrote recently, that "antiglobalist hordes of all kind of rioters" is expected, so reading that we can expect that some football-fans or hools are hoping for a riot.

*ABB: Do you expect great interest for Alternative Economic Forum from Warsaw's inhabitants?*

Most of people rather will use longer weekend to get out of town, especially that mayor of the city advises it. Yet definitely all will keep eye on news, especially lovers of batalistic scenes.

*ABB: Are any media left in Poland which didn't join hate-campaign against antiglob?*

Yes: esoteric monthly "Wrożka", maybe also "Housewife" magazine. All others are printing photos from Genova or Thessaloniki.

*ABB: What people from outside of Poland coming to*

*Warsaw can expect from cops?*

Maybe thousand of pointing at them cameras will make their reaching for sticks slower... Maybe confronted with something so unusual as camera they will choose to wave to their families watching TV, so there will be chance to get off... Shortly: don't expect anything else than elsewhere, all over the world this job are doing people with special kind of mentality.

*ABB: Any hot news from Warsaw?*

Recently (14.03) organizers decided to move planned summit from previously accepted Palace of Culture and Science into hotel "Victoria" as this object suppose to be easier to defend. The idiots got scared of their own propaganda, so we can see it as first our success, even without much of our involvement. On the end I will like to invite all of you to Warsaw for these days. 28th April we plan more relaxed day with street theaters, happenings, next day big demonstration and 30th will depend on that what happened previous day - maybe we will make some next demo or few small-group actions. We shouldn't forget that immediately after is 1st May, when Poland suppose to join EU. Street party is planned and demonstration against EU.

*ABB: Thank a lot and see you soon in Warsaw!*



GLOBALNY KAPITAŁEK TO GLOBALNA NEDZ

# SOCIAL EXPLOSION IN EASTERN SLOVAKIA

*"We just wanted to point out, that our children are hungry. The government does not give us either money or food and on the top of that they send the police against us."*

Collectively organized and carried out expropriations in Slovakia as an answer on government reforms of welfare system

Slovakian government tries to play with a racist card to prevent a possible generalization of this class struggle movement.



Social explosion in Eastern Slovakia

*What we have seen recently happening in Slovakia is something unprecedented here for dozens and dozens of years. TV news have been stuffed with images of Roma kids chanting "We want to eat" in front of a looted shop and angry Roma people throwing bottles and cobblestones, the police firing teargas and using water-cannons and special units with sub-machine-guns raiding homes of looters and rioters. Events we witnessed in Argentina, Bolivia, Iraq or Haiti have come much closer to the reality of working class in central Europe than ever before.*

*If we want to understand the current revolt of Roma (and to a lesser extent even non-Roma) proletarians in Slovakia, first we will have to look at their situation.*

## How to get rid of redundant proletarians?

Slovakia is no exception in worldwide attempts of capital at dismantling the welfare state as a way how to gain time and space for surviving its crisis. The latest government reforms of welfare system in Slovakia included severe cuts in benefits for households. So if in 2002 a family of five people could get as much as 17,890 Sk (Slovakian crowns) in welfare benefits, one year later it was 13,650 Sk and this year it is only 6710 Sk. While the average wage in Slovakia is 14,000 Sk a month,

during the year 2003 there was a decrease in its real value. Unemployment is approximately 15.6%, but Roma people mostly live in regions, which suffer with double or even higher rates of joblessness and in many of their local communities its rate is almost 100%.

Romas represent some 400,000 people out of total Slovakian population of 5.4 millions. However their share is still growing due to their higher birthrate. Given the previous rates of welfare benefits it was possible for parents with a lot of children to avoid wage-slavery. Of course, they would be very poor, but still it would be possible to survive without starving especially if you could become involved in black economy, shoplifting, petty thefts etc. or rely on your own garden and breeding domestic animals. In fact Roma who have always been the first to be sacked in any wave of redundancies since 1989 - and thus have been to a great extent excluded from the labour market for more than a decade - have not had any other option even if they wanted to work. It is even possible to say that a large part of their younger generation has never been integrated into wage labour.

Slovakian government proclaimed that one of goals of its reform is to prevent working-class people from "living on children". In this way it wants to make of them a real "reserve army" of workers, which would be forced to take any job and thus generally push down the wages which would in turn make the country more attractive for foreign capital. In case of Roma this incentive does

not work. It is hard to find even a badly paid job if you live in areas where unemployment does not go below 30% and you are a victim of racist discrimination even on the labour market. On top of that the eastern regions (Presov and Kosice) of Slovakia, where the rebellion broke out, are not destinations of more than 1.8% of those foreign investments. Moreover, foreign capital is generally interested not only in cheap but also in skilled labour force - as suggests structure of its investments (mostly automotive, electronics and steel industries) - and Roma are largely unskilled workers.

And besides that paying out of new lower unemployment and welfare benefits is now conditioned by working in publicly beneficial work schemes (on the lines of workfare). Even if the local authorities would have enough money to hire for these workfare schemes an actually needed number of workers, they would be still unable to provide such schemes for all the unemployed.

Consider all these factors and you can easily arrive at a hypothesis (suggested already by one of our comrades on our webpage <http://alarm.solidarita.org>) that as for the Roma proletarians an unspoken aim of government reforms is stop the population growth of redundant workers. And they know or feel all of these facts and seen together they make a pretty explosive cocktail. At the beginning of February the Slovakian Intelligence

Service warned against a possible class radicalization of Roma which could merge with a more general dissatisfaction in the working class...

## Movement of collective expropriations

The first signs of growing social unrest in eastern regions of Slovakia started to appear since the 6th of February. People from a village of Hran in Trebisov district refused to send their kids to school to protest against lower welfare benefits. On the 8th of February there was a rally of several hundreds Roma in Pavlovc nad Uhom against new welfare laws. Four days later there was a similar gathering of 300 people in Michalovce. Roma openly threatened with expropriations.

Since the 11th to 14th of February a Billa supermarket in Levoca was four times repeatedly attacked by a group of more than 80 Roma who looted food. Most of them had only a few rolls in their trolley-baskets, while under their coats they had sausages, meat and various frozen products. Security guard in Billa called in the city-police patrol, but looting Roma threatened them with revenge and explained that they are forced to loot as they do not have anything to eat.

On February 18 a joint protest of Roma and non-Roma proletarians took place in Vranov nad Toplou, where people demanded new jobs. According to official statistic's there is 8000 unemployed people in their region and only 50 vacancies. They also condemned anti-social reforms.

On the 20th of February



# SOCIAL EXPLOSION IN EASTERN SLOVAKIA

## SOCIAL EXPLOSION IN EASTERN SLOVAKIA

morning shop assistants who were coming for a shift found that their shop in Drahnov is looted. Another expropriations took place in Cierna nad Tisou. From 40 to 50 Roma including children looted food accounting for 40-50 thousand Sk. Thirteen of them were arrested and accused. On the other day about two hundred Roma unsuccessfully tried to loot a COOP Jednota shop in Trhoviste (Michalovce - district). Manager locked the shop and called in the police. Looters requested to be let in the shop in order to take food without paying. Police orders were ignored so they called in reinforcements including a special police unit from Kosice. After that Roma dispersed. But in the evening they were back trying to break into the store. Unfortunately 33 of them got arrested.

The 23rd of February saw a gathering of several hundred Roma in the centre of Trebisov. The police declared their rally unpermitted and pushed them out of the town centre. While on retreat they managed to loot a store. Police units drove Roma into their neighborhood and besieged it. In the evening 248 police officers tried to break the furious crowd using water canon, teargas, stun-grenades and even warning shots. Roma responded with throwing stones and bottles injuring two policemen and damaging two police cars and chanting slogans "Fascists!" and "We want to eat!". After one hour the riot was over, but the area stayed sealed from the rest of the world. On the other day about 30 Roma - including kids - attacked a police bus with stones. Several hundreds policemen again raided the village and Roma dispersed in surrounding fields. 69 of them have been accused of theft, rioting, and attacking police officers. One of Roma proletarians commented these events as follows: "We just wanted to point out, that our children are hungry. The government does not give us either money or food and on the top of that they send the police against us." Shortly after that a government decision to send more than 600 soldiers to the troubled area was publicly announced. "There

*"will be a war, we have got guns!"*

responded an angry Roma in Trebisov.

On the 25th of February several Roma women, children and one man looted a shop in Caklov. The police arrested them using violence and injuring a small kid. During these last days there was a



visible move of lootings from the East of Slovakia to the central and southern parts. Nevertheless, these were only isolated cases. What was important about them, was that in Zemplin (on February 24) also some non-Roma working class people joined the collective expropriations. The fact that news in bourgeois media helped to spark the unrest on several places is also very significant. The protest, looting and riot in Trebisov actually aroused from this source. Roma living there learned what is happening in other places and spontaneously joined the movement. In several other cases Roma came to the supermarkets and declared that they would take food without paying, as they saw it on TV.

### Repression and recuperation

Besides the direct deployment of the police and army the Slovakian government also tries to play with a racist card to prevent a possible generalization of this class struggle movement. Slovakian president Rudolf Schuster openly warned against this possibility. So they do their best to persuade major population that these are not social riots but "Roma riots" (Minister of Interior Vladimir Palko). They also claim that what is going on is not a real looting, i.e. collectively organized and carried out expropriations, but "ordinary crime, which is being

committed every day" (the same person). On the other hand the government line says that it is a looting, but organized by usurers. It is however hard to determine what benefit would those usurers have from attacks on the circulation of exchange value.

But there is also other side of this coin and it is recuperation of Roma proletarians' struggle. The Minister of Social Affairs, Mr. Kanik, declared that as for the Roma, the government is ready to make some concessions in the reform of social benefits. Meanwhile social workers are being sent to the troubled

regions to explain Roma that looting is a bad solution with disastrous consequences. Roma people from Novacany nearby Kosice had been homeless since January 22, when their wooden shacks burnt down. Suddenly on February 24 they got new provisional housing from the government. On February 25 a mayor of Trhoviste village signed a deal with the Labour Office in Michalovce providing worksfare jobs for a local unemployed Roma community, which has been involved in lootings. Definitely, this list of examples of attempts at recuperation could be much longer.



Critical role in repression and recuperation have also played Roma middle classes and their political representation. First the Roma Parliament of the Slovakian Republic called for a national day of protests on February 25. It even planned blockades of railways and border check-points. But as the class struggle became more intense and uncontrollable, they backed down and declared that their idea

of protests was "misused". And thus they started to call for a canceling of the day of protests. Nevertheless, unsuccessfully. On many places there were demonstrations, but they remained largely peaceful, without looting and riots. The Roma Council of Slovakia also proclaimed that it is time to finish the protests, because "this is not the right way". Moreover they offered their help to the police suppressing revolts in the East and proposed them joint patrols: Roma + policemen.

### What next?

Just now it seems that the situation has been calming down. So far the heavy repression has intimidated revolting Roma from further mass direct actions. This together with the fact that on a conscious level the movement was very defensive might make its recuperation easier. In this respect it is also necessary to point out that the movement failed to spread into major cities. For example Kosice, center of the eastern region, has got a strong Roma community which remained largely passive for past days.

On the other hand it is needed to stress that the movement was in some cases able to overcome deeply rooted racism against Roma. We have already mentioned two examples, but there were more of them. Especially during the peaceful protests on February 25 Roma proletarians demonstrated together with some "white" workers, who declared their support to the collective expropriations (e.g. in Humenne): "they should have done this long time ago" or "we are not surprised by their actions, because it is really impossible to live like this".

One thing seems to be obvious - capital and its government are not able to solve this problem in the same way as they are not able to solve their crisis. If they will succeed in suppressing the movement this time it will be more like postponement of a day of reckoning.

David; ORA-S Prague

## SOCIAL EXPLOSION IN EASTERN SLOVAKIA

**PROTESTS ... ACTIONS ... INFOS ... PROTESTS ... ACTIONS ...****RUSSIA****Skins kill Russian child  
ST.PETERSBURG**

Russian youths, members of the skinhead scene, have killed a nine year old girl from Tajikistan in the inner city of St. Petersburg using knives. According to the police the girl's father and her 11 year old cousin were hurt when approx. a dozen youths attacked them. The offenders managed to escape and the girl died before paramedics arrived.

The girl's father was one of ten of thousands of seasonal workers who come year after year to Russia from Tajikistan. In the past years more and more racist attacks happened. The governor of St. Petersburg ordered an inquiry to find the aggressors. According to her the deed is 'as bad as the attack in the underground in Moscow'.

**Anarchist anti-fascists action  
MOSCOW**

*Movement Against Illegal Immigration (DPNI)* is a new attempt by Moscow fascists to set up a respectable facade behind which to spread hate. It has had some success in its organising efforts lately, and in three regions of Moscow they have militias which cooperate with police in "search of illegal immigrants". Their second attempt to organise a rally this year was successful (20th of February their action was banned), in 16th of March they met in front of Gorki's park with pretext of "commemoration of victims of bomb attack" of 6th of February, in a shameful attempt to score politically from a massacre in metro committed by persons unknown. Orthodox christians commemorate dead 40 days after death, but fascist filth is weak in arithmetics and this was really only 39th day. Some 150-200 nazis gathered behind police encirclement, half of whom were bonheads and other street fighters, spitting hate under banners such as "Ermolov instead of Kadirov" (Ermolov was Czar's brutal general in Siberia and Caucasus, Kadirov is current Putin's goon in Chechnya) and demanding cleansing Moscow from Chechnyans. Only 15 persons gathered to go against fascists in open air, these sorry numbers reflect current balance of power between anti-fascists and nazis in streets Moscow. Anti-fascists included anarchists from Rainbow Keepers and Autonomous Action. Radical

wing of liberal anti-fascism from Sabotage-group and antifa.ru website was observing the nazi meeting, and some of them joined action. Some 5 persons from wacko Revolutionary Worker's Party (RRP) also appeared, although no-one had invited them. Soon after arrival to square, anarchist anti-fascists raised banner "FSB is blowing us up" with crossed swastika and crossed sickle and hammer, scanning slogans "Fascism won't trespass!" and "Fascist scum, get out from Moscow!". For a moment author of these lines wondered if this would become the last action of his life. However slow ass nazi scum missed their opportunity to organise massacre of the month, police encircled counter-demonstrators and arrested some 5 persons and tearing their banner to pieces. Right when cops had withdrawn, anti-fascists raised another banner "No-one is illegal", and continued scanning slogans. Another 5 persons got arrested by OMON which came up running, one Rainbow Keeper got smacked to ground but seemingly no-one was tortured after arrest. Few people who were not arrested managed to withdraw without nazis jumping on them. When writing this, most of the arrested anti-fascists have been released with irrelevant-misdemeanour charges.

This action may be regarded as an important step - although it is shameful that anti-fascist have to count on good luck or cops hitting faster than nazis, it is still important to prove that we are not afraid, and we will go even if it was 1 to 10 or even 1 to 100. We are not asking authorities to shut down nazi meetings - we will do it ourselves! No Pasaran!

**Actions against war in Chechnya**

23rd of February is an official holiday in Russia, "Day of defender of the fatherland", which is this year also 60th anniversary of beginning of deportation of Chechnyans and Ingushetians to Central-Asian steppes. Hundreds of police had been dispatched to center of Moscow to harass actions of 23rd of February, but they could not arrest a single anarchist.

**Human rights organizations meeting was not given a permission  
MOSCOW**

Human rights organizations gathered 12am in Lyubyanka square in

Moscow; meeting was not given a permission with pretext that "there are many official festivities in the center", although really we saw none of these official celebrations. Altogether 160 persons gathered in Lyubyanka square in memorial of political prisoners in front of FSB (former KGB) headquarters, just to be dispersed by OMON special forces who arrested 13 persons. Liberal human rights organizations decided not to do much of even passive resistance, but it is already fortunate that so much of their people showed up in the first place.

**Anarchists marched towards Kreml  
MOSCOW**

Anarchist had advertised Mayakovski square as their gathering point 1.30 PM, but really the action was to be started exactly one hour later in another place, following Makhno school of tactical planning. While police was watching the Mayakovski square only, anarchist dispersed in groups on ten or less people from square, and these groups showed up in one of the side streets of Tverskaya street near Pushkin square only the very same minute when action was to begin. Anarchists took over two lines of the eight-line Tverskaya street, and marched towards Kreml, scanning "No to war!", "Down with FSB!", "Down with the state!", "Rise the black flag higher, state is the main enemy!", "No war for money!", "I do not want to serve in the army, I want to live!", "Our enemy is not in Chechnya, our enemy is in Kreml!", "Fascism won't trespass!", "Down with the police state!" and others. Banners included "No war between nations, no peace between classes", "People before profits", "Autonomous Action" and "Putin is shit of our motherland".

Communists had finished their thousand-strong patriotic demonstration half hours before in Teatralnaya square, this was surrounded by hundreds of police, and everyone going to action had to go through metal finder. Anarchists preferred not to run to remains of this encirclement, so they turned to Kuznetskiy most street until they reached Duma. This was a good choice since smaller street had good acoustics, and demonstrators could explain real meaning of February 23rd through megaphone. Demonstration went without any trouble all the way to empty

Lyubyanka square, where OMON had dispersed human rights demonstration only two and half hours before. After short speeches anarchists dispersed with unforeseen discipline, and busload of coppers which showed up only few minutes later found just an empty square, and no-one to be arrested. Altogether anarchist march lasted 30 minutes.

None of the organizers had expected success like this. Only small minus was small numbers of participants, 50 people. Lately all anarchist actions in Moscow have been successful and much new people show up all the time, but since old people do not show up numbers in action remain the same.

**Anarchist candidate in presidential elections:  
Mr. Direct Action  
MOSCOW**

On 22 of March, Moscow anarchists organized legalized anti-election demonstration in Timiryazev memorial in front of ITAR-TASS building, a balloting station was built and people were lured to vote with bread and vodka. Condition was that everyone had to vote with their feet. Ballots had only one name in them. Anarchist had two banners, "Elections of a president to a president" and "boycott elections". Leaflets with promotion of anarchist candidate, "mr. Direct Action" were distributed. After various attempts to vote with feet were seen, ballot box was burned and anarchists hit the road.

**Anti-elections & anti-war actions**

23rd of February anarchists demonstrated in Izhevsk (Udmurtian Republic) as well, 3 PM unarchists from local organization Attack (not to be confused with Attac) raised banners "Elections of Putin - another 4 years of war?", "Chechen war - bloody PR", "Army - school of slavery" and "Power lies, war is going on". Meeting took place in central square of the city in front of Udmurtian government, anarchist scanned anti-war slogans. After action, 20-30 nazis from Freedom Party assaulted anarchists and beat up two persons. Violent conflict between nazis and anarchists in Izhevsk has been going on quite a while.

In Kazan anarchists co-organized film showing while in Vsevolzhsk two anarchists demon-

**PROTESTS ... ACTIONS ... INFOS ... PROTESTS ... ACTIONS ...**

**PROTESTS ... ACTIONS ... INFOS ... PROTESTS ... ACTIONS ...**

strated marching with banner "23rd of February - 60 years of Chechen genocide".

**POLAND**

New Left party happening against US military bases in Poland!  
WARSAW

On the 28 February the New Left party have organised a nice happening against US military bases in Poland but not many people appeared (20 + passers-by). There was a giant reproduction of the White House on a panel, and after the names of all countries victims of US interventions were read, the White House was burned. Then the organisers played the "International" from loudspeakers, which was the point where all the passers-by ran away.

**HUNGARY**

Blood and Honour demo in BUDAPEST

On the 14th of february *Blood and Honour Hungary* organized a demonstration on Hosök tere (Heroes' square). There were at least 500 bonheads and other nazi people on the square, celebrating those nazi german and hungarian soldiers who fought against the Red Army and died in the storm of Budapest. The speakers talked in a clearly racist, homophbic way, they celebrated Szálasi, who was the leader of the hungarian nazi party at '44. They talked about nationalism and socialism, to fight against american and cionist imperialism. The funniest was that their spokesmen told the ss soldiers protected europe from the 'red scum', but they forgot about the western front, where US and other troops were marching to Berlin.

There was an anti-demonstration in the Castle, organized by the ruling party and by their fans - the original plan of Blood and Honour was to celebrate their nazi forefathers in the castle. The mass media and the government made a clever politic before the nazi demonstration, because they hadn't told where it was going to be organized, so many haven't knew where to go.

*By social disease kollektiva*

**CROATIA**

Police raided the squat

**ZAGREB**

Police raided the squat in Zagreb (again). As it's not barricaded, they entered early in the morning and took 9 people to the station. All the time they refused to tell why they keep them in custody. They didn't even interrogate them, except foreigners - they could have problems if they are in the country for longer than 24 hours without registering. People could keep the mobile phone, so due to the alert of friendly journalists and some ngo-s, whose made a pressure by calling the police and asking about this case, most of persons were released after couple of hours. Policemen have told quite interesting things to journalists. At first they said it was because of 16 criminal acts next to the house the previous night. But already next day chief of the station said that it was because of many foreigners who stay there and police wants to has control over the situation. He also asked: «You don't have any connection with antiglobalists, do you? I know you're ok, but from ministry - they asked about it...» It seems that each time the activist scene gets lively, police raids the squat as only reachable and visible target.

**TURKEY**

Anarchists interrupting election campaign  
MALATYA

In Tayyip Erdogan's Malatya meeting there was a protest against punishments in universities and teachers' appointments. During the protest 5 people -including anarchists- got arrested. Right after being taken to the police station they were released.

\* [Turkish PM Tayyip Erdogan organizing meetings in various cities of Turkey as a part of local election campaign.]

*From: arde-a-mynet.com*

**CZECHIA**

Leader of Kolovrat arrested  
PRAGUE

The Czech major corporate news server informed that the leader singer of Russian nazi band Kolovrat was arrested on Prague airport trying to leave the country. Kolovrat should have played a few shows here in Czechia - that is why he was arrested. He was also in possession of big amount of nazi materials. He

should have been accused of racial hatred paragraphs. This news was confirmed by the article on web page of major nazi group "Narodni odpor." Nazis even set up the bank account for his defence.

**Lecture tour on Zapatistas**

The CSAF organize the lecture tour around Czech and Slovakia to mark the 10th anniversary of Zapatista's insurgency. The lecture take about one hour and deal both with history of struggle in Mexico and current Zapatista's struggle. It should take place in about 12 towns.

**SLOVAKIA**

Unrest by hungry Slovak Roma may spread

The hunger riots by Roma (also known as Gypsies) across eastern Slovakia have stopped, but Roma leaders privately predict their resurgence and warn that unrest among destitute Roma may spread to neighboring areas of the Czech Republic, Hungary, Ukraine, and Romania. The riots that some observers call an uprising began late last month after the Slovak government reduced by about half welfare benefits, especially affecting families with more than four children. While Roma sources are alarmed by the resulting near-starvation conditions in areas with up to 85% unemployment and no job opportunities, the government has threatened to track down "the ringleaders" and to apply "the most severe penalties" against those guilty of "incitement to commit crimes." The Center for Roma Rights in Slovakia (CRRS) and the Budapest-based European Roma Rights Center (ERRC) have charged Slovak law enforcement authorities with "indiscriminate and excessive use of physical force, including abusive force deployed on minors, women, and persons with physical and/or mental disabilities." In a letter to Slovakia's Prosecutor General on March 2, CRSS and ERRC called for an investigation of "serious human rights abuses" by law enforcement officials who "apparently conflate the purposes of criminal justice with those of raw revenge." According to Roma sources, one group of 182 people the police detained comprises 96 women, 51 men, and 35 minors. Minister of the Interior Vladimir Palko was quoted by domestic media as having said that the unrest has prompted "the

largest engagement of police forces since 1989" and that February 23 marked "the first time since 1989 that water cannons were deployed and used." Last week, headlines such as "This is War!" dominated the Slovak press. ERRC points out that "many Roma live in extremely substandard, racially segregated slum settlements" and warns that "in recent weeks, already very fragile ethnic relations in Slovakia have deteriorated to a serious extent, and anti-Roma sentiment is now at dangerous levels." While several nearby communities are collecting food for shipment to the areas most severely affected by hunger, there are indications that the European Parliament will soon hold hearings on recent events in the poverty-stricken eastern part of Slovakia. Slovak government officials claim that the cuts in welfare payment were made in response to demands by the European Union (EU), which the country is scheduled to join in May. (Slovakia is also slated to join NATO on April 2 rather than in June, according to a new schedule announced on March 1. It is not clear if there is a connection between the unrest in eastern Slovakia and the accelerated schedule of accession that is valid for all the other new members as well: Slovenia, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Romania, and Bulgaria.) Among the countries about to join the EU, Slovakia has the highest level of unemployment and, according to Roma sources, no comprehensive or local plan to reduce it. Western observers suggest that the area needs investments that will generate jobs, instead of stern punitive measures such as "charges of robbery in an organized group" against people who looted food shops and clashed with the police. The sign carried by demonstrators that caught the eye of foreign journalists and other outside observers proclaimed: "We want jobs, not charity." Speaking privately, Western observers are unhappy with the anti-Roma hostility of key Slovak leaders. Roma sources cite "deep-seated racism." "A hunger riot is an ultimate argument," Hungarian Roma leader Aladár Horváth of the Roma Civil Rights Foundation wrote in a letter to both the Slovak and the Hungarian governments. "It is the voice of those for whom the written and unwritten rules of the civil contract have ceased to exist."

**PROTESTS ... ACTIONS ... INFOS ... PROTESTS ... ACTIONS ...**

# NO BORDER CAMP - "IGRE BEZ GRANICA"

30.04. - 01.05.2004.

## MURSKO SREDISCE

(NORTH OF CROATIA, NEAR CAKOVEC)

Anarchist groups from all over Croatia are inviting you for cooperation and participation in organization of no-border camp, which will take place on 30.4. and 01.05.2004 near Mursko Sredisce (on the north of Croatia, nearby Cakovec). For now we are planning a series of educational tribunes and presentations in camp, etc., and also in the same time in the place Mursko Sredisce. Few days earlier we will organize tribunes about that subject in Zagreb, Cakovec and Mursko Sredisce; by which we will announce the no-border camp.

We are asking for your ideas, proposals, donations (if you can, organize benefits), support and everything what could be useful for the camp. Feel free to join in and spread information. Contact:

[ograniceni@yahoo.com](mailto:ograniceni@yahoo.com)

### NO BORDER CAMP ...

... is a way of protest, but also of a positive action which refers to numerous problems: borders, xenophobia, racism, violation of human rights...

### MAY, 1st ...

... is the day that symbolize workers' struggle for their rights, which bureaucrats from sindicates won't assure for them, but only their own direct actions will.

### 2004

Slovenia will officially become a member of European Union. The border of "Fortress Europe" moves to the East. How it effects to population of new-joined countries, but also for the people who will remain outside of the EU.

### MURSKO SREDISCE

... is a location of the camp. Subjects: BORDERS, WORKERS RIGHTS, EUROPEAN UNION, will be discussed throughout the camp (projections, meetings, lectures, workshops, discussions, direct and educative actions...) and direct actions in the center of the town.

### FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT

"For free movement of people, goods and money" is a motto of EU. In reality it goes like this: money and goods move freely across the borders, but when it comes to people, that's completely another story. Persons from countries which are in process of joining the EU won't have freedom of movement across EU the next 5-7 years, which depends on decision of "old" members. Money and goods certainly won't wait that long.

and all other public buildings, for example, in London you'll be captured by about 300 cameras in one ordinary day), chip cards which allow control of your movement to police, laws that forbid unannounced gatherings of more than three persons, planning of the city's public areas to make it simple for the police to have a complete control (city parks, playgrounds...), controlling throughout department for employment and system of social help, etc.

because of a competition of a big transnational corporations. 5) It is also manifested through «quality control» of products, which is adapted to conditions that only the big firms can fulfill. That is one more way to remove local products from the market. - production and market control; in other words control of the price of products by export and import quotas.

### PRIVATIZATION

Plan and vision of ideal «development» in the eyes of EU (and IMF and WB) is based on decreasing social subventions and privatisation of health care, education, retirement fund and even jails.

Funds and loans which are named as positive way to join EU, are used exclusively for development that EU wants, and for investments in projects which are going to gain profits for big companies in the future.

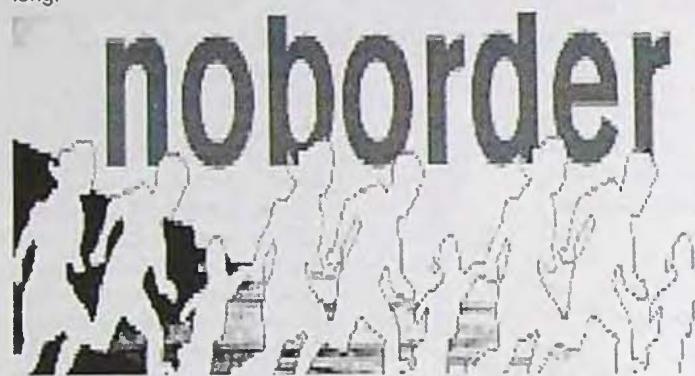
We can see transformation of countries of social safety in countries that defend only the profits of the big companies, and the order is maintained by surveillance and criminal law system.

Privatization of social security system forces people to accept any working conditions, which is just one more way to "pacify" workers and to decrease their salaries.

### NOBORDER actions in ZADAR

EU economy is based on centralized planned production, which is not in the harmony with local context and local needs, but instead of that its goal is bigger efficiency and bigger profits of big corporations. Consistently we can hear experts from IMF and WB who say that the production should be more orientated on export. This in fact means: 1) Encouraging monoculture instead of biodiversity. 2) Production for global trade instead of satisfying local needs. 3) Intensive Industrial agriculture and use of many chemical ingredients (GM seeds also). Instead of traditional way of production and organic agriculture. 4) Dissappearance of small and medium big family businesses

As result of a congress of Social Anarchist Federation (Slovenia) and agreement about together coordinate actions, Zadar Anarchist Front will organise one week actions started with no border action on the sea border in Zadar on 24 of April. We will continue this week with lecture about borders and films on these issues which will take place in the city library. Week will end with Mayday protests (which will take place both, on April 30 and May 1). At the moment we are working on magazine of anarchosyndicalism called "Workers Association" made by Initiative for Anarcho-Syndicalism - who are part of Zadar Anarchist Front. Through this magazine we will try to make contact with syndicalist unions in Zadar, and see if they are interesting in together actions ... Zadar Anarchist Front



### BORDERS OF THE FORTRESS EUROPE

Instead of number of small countries, now there is a one "super-state" which keeps all their bad characteristics. Is the existence of "island of safety and wealthiness" possible, when it's surrounded by problems and poverty? EU is trying to "defend" itself from the ones they call "illegal immigrants" using the new technology on Schengen borders; assembling centres for immigrants and deportations. The truth is that multinationals from EU need them as cheap workforce that has no possibility to struggle for better working conditions. They also need experts, in whose education they never invested. At the same time xenophobia, prejudices and fear that "foreigns will take over their work places" etc. are present in public. That is the way to keep immigrants in tough position and unexpectance, and to present them as a cause of existential problems, which are in fact mainly caused by the system.

### SAFETY

What does future and Europe bring us? In the name of safety of citizens, they are being monitored. Beginning with cameras all around (streets, squares, parks, public transport, schools,

## BORDER04-workshops

### during the NEURO conference in Munich, 28/29-02

*Developing a project of common framework for mobile and stationary activities against the new borders of the official Europe*

In the frame of the NEURO conference - *Networking Europe* in Munich (26.2.- 29.2.04) two initial workshops towards the Border04 - project were held on Saturday and Sunday.

"Everyone is an expert"  
presented the idea of border04

In the continuity of No Border Camps all over Europe during the last years, in summer 2004, some weeks after the EU-enlargement, we would like to shift the focus to the folds and fringes, the margins and new borders of the official Europe. Border04 should be the common framework for a wide range of local and remote, mobile and stationary activities taking place in summer 2004. B04 aims to connect and short-circuit debates around migration with debates around the expanding EU-borders, the transition of labour, around mobility, mobile technologies, freedom of movement and communication. Some approaches:

#### Tracing the routes of migration

The many faces of migration are producing dramatic changes that are not only affecting local and remote economies. People in transit, commuters between east and west, seasonal and domestic workers form new concepts of Europe, that are based on mobility, no matter if unsolicited or unwillingly.

#### Mapping the spaces in between

Theoretically it's only a small drift from what lies beyond the limitations of national imagination to the imaginations of those outside of it. But in practice, the spaces between Europe and non-Europe are being dispersed, extracted and contracted by numerous movements of very different actors on an unknown and ever-changing field.

#### Crossing the borders

##### from the real to a virtual Europe

Leaving traditional political and geographical notions of Europe behind the information and communication technologies as well as the flows of migration do shape a virtual Europe, that is defined by its openness rather than its borders.

#### Concept of B04

Concept B04 will be a two-month travel along both sides of the new, external borders of an enlarged European Union. The idea is a modular, temporary, and tactical association of people from east and west with different political background, various new media-networks and grassroots-initiatives, artists etc. Although there will be at least one Mobile ("Expert mobile"), which will take the whole route during 8 weeks, the continuity of the "tour" will be hopefully created by a lot of different activities and projects along the route. The concept does not necessarily require a special amount of people, who take part in b04 the whole 8 weeks, but temporary participation with own ideas and interests or a remote form of associated and linked projects. Independent teams may organize researches, documentations, workshops, meetings, exhibitions, performances, and actions ... In that way, fluctuation is no problem, but enrichment. In the centre of the project is the interest of deepening already existing contacts as well as creating new links between different initiatives, projects and movements.

Within the decentralised concept of small units we thought about common meeting-points along the route. Such kind of meeting-points should make possible a coming together of all participants and "newcomers", for an evaluation-process as well as for further preparations or workshops. The meeting-points should be established

for at least three days to have enough time and space for deeper exchange and these dates and places should be appointed and announced in advance, as the only fixed points for the tour. In between we would like to be as flexible as possible.

During the workshop it was also mentioned that it wouldn't be in first line something like a "protest"-Tour, focussing on "evil border-regime" by touring from one detention camp to the next one. Nevertheless we will attract the attention to the already existing and developing detention camps, either by delegation visits or singular protests. But the main line will be to focus on autonomous strategies of undermining the border regime, daily life experiences and exchange.

#### The most important remarks/ideas during the workshops

- the language and rhetoric of the propaganda material should be obtainable to the local people which will be met in the streets.
- It should be clear, that of course borders are running everywhere, through whole Europe, through every city, vertical and horizontal.
- because of the situation and not very good developed alternative media in EE, activists there need to cooperate/use mainstream media during the b04 .
- referring to the fact that in the end of July (23rd- 29th July) the 3rd European Conference of PGA will take place in Beograd, where a lot of people and groups at least of the south-east region will be involved, we thought about changing the route to a south-north trace. The tour will start possible in Slovenia and go at first to PGA conference in Beograd. There is interest of groups from Hungary, Poland, Ukraine and Lithuania to cooperate for the b04.

## News from Avtonom

### - the journal of Autonomous Action federation

For those of you who do not yet know, Avtonom is currently irregularly published journal of Autonomous Action, which developed from a network to a libertarian communist federation January 2002, after two years of existence. Currently Autonomous Action has local groups in 23 cities of Russia and Armenia, and supporters in Belarus, Lithuania, Kazakhstan, Kirgistan and Ukraine.

This is the first issue of Avtonom put out by brand new editorial collective in Moscow. Last spring Krasnodar anarchist movement ran into some trouble. Local chekists used a stupid street fight in order to put pressure on local movement. It happened that press-secretary of Rosneft corporation in Kuban, drunken mr. Dolgov provoked a fight with Krasnodar anarchists and broke his finger. 20th of May 2003 cops raided home of D. Ryabin, then de facto editor-in-chief of Avtonom, confiscating his hard disk and plenty of anarchist press. During summer and autumn, anarchists in Krasnodar were summoned to interrogations, and police threatened to set up a criminal case with charge of "a call to overturn constitutional order" against former editors of Avtonom, to put new anti-terrorist legislation hastily set up after Nord-Ost hostage crisis to practice.

21st of January D. Ryabin and his co-defendant faced charges because of the street fight. Initiator of the fight, mr. Dolgov was playing in role of the victim, but was content with the settlement which included payment of a sizeable financial compensation to him. In usual practice this means end of the case - this time not, and Ryabin was sentenced to 6 months in "colony", which is a new form of a low-security level prison. This would be exceptionally hard sentence even without any settlement, and Dmitry himself was completely certain that he would receive a probational sentence, and asked everyone not to waste efforts for support campaign in prior to court. His co-defendant got a probational sentence, since judge considered him young and not as initiator of the conflict. However judge Goncharov of the

regional court of Oktjabrskiy area was only voicing the sentence given by not judicial but executive powers - a known FSB agent was present in the court, ensuring that longest standing member of anarchist movement would be neutralized for a while.

D. Ryabin has been participating to anarchist movement since 1989, last 4 years in Autonomous Action in which he is one of the co-founders. He edited first 20 numbers of the journal Avtonom, editorial collective of which had to be moved to Moscow in summer 2003 because of the repression in Krasnodar. Dmitry Ryabin worked as a journalist in Kuban area regional paper of the official trade union federation, "Delo Truda" (cause of work), although it must be said that this was for purely financial considerations and Ryabin has no any illusions whatsoever about chances to reform official yellow business-unions. He would be disappointed if his defenders defined him as a "trade union functioner". Currently Dmitry is in isolator of Krasnodar, waiting to be sent to colony. His current post address is unknown to us, we will distribute it right when it is known. In Russian prisons family members and friends have to provide prisoners everything from clothes to food, so we are in a need of donations. Local supporters have not yet decided whether to appeal the sentence - it is unlikely that appeal would be looked during 6 months of Dmitry's imprisonment, but all the time necessary when waiting the appeal Dmitry would be kept in harsh conditions of the overcrowded isolator. But whether appeal will be made or not, we must organise a political campaign, if local chekists think that fitting up Dima was an easy piece of cake, they will go forward with the anti-terrorist case against Avtonom which would mean serious consequences to Russian anarchist movement in general. We will let you know immediately when a defence strategy is ready, when we know to where it is best to send protests.

Krasnodar collective managed to finish 20th number of Avtonom, but printing and distribution suffered

from big delays. Krasnodar scene has taken a serious blow due to repression, and publication of the journal had to be moved to Moscow. Making of first Moscow number 21 was a long and painful process, but let us hope that now we will be able to move back to regular publication schedule. It is very difficult to get foreign radical press and texts in Russia, so we are interested to expand our mailing list - if you know people who would be interested to read our materials, please contact them for us! Currently German correspondence is done by Nizhni Novgorod section, English by Krasnodar, Italian by our members in Kazakhstan and Scandinavian languages and French in Moscow - please send press with respective languages to cities dealing with respective correspondence. In another hand, mailing out is so expensive that we would like to post our papers only to people who understand what is written in them... Relevant addresses are (do not write names of the group to envelopes, please!) the following. (Note that we have some changes here.)

Autonomous Action of Moscow (new redaction of Avtonom) P. O. Box 13; 109028 Moscow Russia  
adm@avtonom.org (note new e-mail address!)

Autonomous Action of Krasnodar; P.O. Box 3472, 350031 Krasnodar Russia (no functional e-mail address due to repression!)

Anarchist group of Nizhni Novgorod; P. O. Box 25, 603104 Nizhni Novgorod Russia; ad\_nn@mail.ru  
<http://www.ad-nn.narod.ru>

Alma Ata; P. O. Box 149; 460 000 Alma Ata Kazakhstan;  
ad\_eldar@hotmail.com; <http://www.almaty-liberta.com.ru>

Our federal site is:  
<http://www.avtonom.org>

Revolutionary greetings with Moscow salutier draeze!

*"Undoubtedly somebody governs Russia, but who exactly we don't know, and those who know it - don't tell the truth"*

*"Totalitarianism is dangerous for what? Freedom? The majority considers that they don't have money in order to make use of freedom"*

## AFTER "VOTE PUTIN OR DIE" ELECTIONS IN RUSSIA INTERVIEW WITH ACTIVISTS FROM MOSCOW



**ABB:** Who is actually ruling in Russia? For sure not a society, but then who? Is it Putin and his closest spectrum or completely different groups of powerful people? Maybe the guys from military and secret service headquarters, or simply mafia in cooperation with the most powerful Russian business people? Does anybody in Russia know the answer to this question? Have all those executed journalists in the last years been the ones who found the right answer to this question?

Russia was governed by beaurocrats and other different clans all the time. By russian constitution, large amounts of power is concentrated into the president's hands. In the first period he consolidated his own position with new members in goverment from old KGB members. Before elections, some reorganisation in the goverment gave Putin the right to exert

influence on ministers and federal services.

But finally, not only the president and his assistants have power. Many groups possess power in their own sphere of influence, and in established laws. The power is shaped by secret decisions. This means that socio-political spheres are under the influence of a new type of beaurocrats, manipulating citizens. The "real" politics take place behind the scenes. Undoubtedly somebody governs Russia, but who exactly we don't know, and those who know it - don't tell the truth.

**ABB:** Can you tell us a bit about actions calling for the boycott of elections? Who was involved in this compaign and what was Putins repressive executive body's reaction?

It was like usual, not many took part. Some political groups with members mostly from anarchist and liberals, communists, trostkyists and national-bolsheviks hold meetings, but with small number participation. Attempts to do some really big actions failed in the

beginning. Liberals declared a boycott of elections or they voted "against all". As to direct actions or concrete meetings they were really not ready. Grigorij Javlinskij from the party "Jabloko" only in the last days called a boycott and another group formed with chess-player Kasparow created "Komitet2008" and started preparations for another election.

This time the militia didn't make any trouble and the biggest problem for the movement against elections appears to be the official propaganda machine.

in the elections.

**ABB:** And according to the independent sources...if such ones exist at all?

In comparison to the Duma elections in December, when the KPRF and liberal Parties did count the voices and came to a different result, now there is no alternative data. But the Moscow based Carnegie Center said that some 900,000 people seem to have disappeared from the countries lists of registered voters in the three months between the parliamentary and presidential elections, in what appears to reflect a clever effort to boost turnout figures on the 14th of march.

**ABB:** What did the vote results look like in different parts of Russia?

In previous elections the amount of votes was even, except in Moscow where the amounts of votes traditionally differ from the other regions. But in the 2004 presidential elections what was special is that appearance in some regions was on a really high level. So you can make conclusions.

Some records: in Kabardino-Balkarija (95.95%)



**ABB:** How many people according to official sources gave their votes to Putin?

Vladimir Putin got 71,2% of the voices (48.818.513 people), "against all" - 3,5% (2.277.374). And in general 60% of all citizens participated

Ingushetia (91.09%), Mordovia (91.29%), Chechnia (89.95%) here for Putin (92.60%), Chukotka (83.2%), Jakutia (79.9%).

But in Krasnojarsk

blatant intimidating (in Chechnia people vote for the president through force, because they are afraid of repression) a large amount of citizens and rarely support the regime.



Irkutsk land elections do not happen. To the ballot-box came less than 50%. But full statistic's until now (21.03) do not exist. This shows one more time that the falsification process of elections is long and hard and this work is not done.

**ABB:** How would you comment on this whole spectacle?

I think that from one side a really large amount of citizens understand that it

Is the society already used to that, or is the society very easy to manipulate, being apathetic and hopeless at the same time?

Any totalitarian system which came before had a positive social program - which is what it "gave" in exchange for the silent consent with totalitarianism. This is the program of stalinism and Breznevs "real socialism". If Stalins variant is really idealistic - equality in poverty (for sure except the ruling classes), free education, free medicine, mass sport... then Breznevs was quite bourgeois - differentiation of earnings,



is better not to vote. On the other side there are those who consider it their duty to the state. So in spite of falsifications and

the possibility of accumulation is for a minority. That, not forgetting.

Many people in Russia accept from the

state that everything will be like before, that is stability, satiety and more or less equality - not without millionaires, but without excessive wealth for the ruling classes. Already people have forgotten that in "the old days" there wasn't any special stability, security or any satiety. Nobody has fear of totalitarism, because they don't understand what it can take away. People don't feel, that freedom of speech needs improvement or even is a daily necessity. In Russia there has never been a cabinet of ministers who are responsible for

After the abolition of more or less free press (there are only few oppositional newspapers left and one radio station, all tv channels are under Kremlin control for three years), the Russian government initiated a propaganda campaign, which is comparative to soviet propaganda or US propaganda in the cases of Afghanistan and Iraq. Propaganda gives hope to people. Hope without any basis - but they don't understand this.

**ABB:** Don't you think that perhaps many Russians have dreams of great Russia, like the tsars or stalin?



voters or for the parliament. Post-soviets don't see much use in elections. Totalitarianism is dangerous for what? Freedom? The majority considers that they don't have money in order to make use of freedom.

After the end of the USSR the living standard of most of the citizens went quickly down hill. Only recently, some 15-20% of the population is coming back to previous living conditions. In a situation like this, people are without any hope and they are apathetic and easy to manipulate. Whoever gives them hope, will have them completely.

Therefore they are ready for big renouncements to realise that dream, and see Putin as a right person for bringing it to life?

For sure, nationalism and patriotism exists on a large level and is still growing, with the help of government propaganda. Putin is perceived as a man who can help Russia's empire get back grandeur, but the most important factor is the circumstances about which we wrote above.

**ABB:** What social groups (intelligence, workers, youth, students, etc) are giving Putin the most support and

which ones are in opposition to the ongoing socio-political developments in Russia?

In Russia there are no objective statistics about the position of different social groups. The press is no longer a mirror of society. And we don't

ban of the "half-oppositional" radio station "Echo of Moscow" and some small still independent, weekly magazines and newspapers. Possibly the only remaining uncensored publications in the next four years will be tiny newspapers and magazines with an edi-

undistorted by putins propaganda. Therefore from the population we can only expect an increase of hostility towards the west. The basis for it is the Russian official media. The ruling classes in the next four years can spit on western opinions because with present oil prices, Russia has enough currency reserves for next four years.

The chances to form serious libertarian movements in the future is small. That doesn't mean that we shouldn't try. Existing initiatives need support and solidarity from comrades from the west. A big catastrophe on a national or world wide scale has to happen in order to shake up the people. But we are not sure which way people will choose: libertarian, bolshevik or nationalism.

**ABB:** We are getting the impression that we are witnessing a rise in anarchist activities in your city in the last months. We have heard about many young people joining various

Yes that is true. Activism in Moscow, and in all Russia has risen in the last years. We really want to believe that a new generation of activists is joining the movement, thus founding a wonderful world of anarchy. Probably it is only due to pre-election campaigns carried out by trotskyist, communists, national-bolsheviks. The elections and a growth of political activity all over the country work as a catalyst even for initiatives and projects which have nothing to do with elections. For example: Anarchist Black Cross was formed, also the anarcho-feminist group "Resistance sisters", and held the anarcho-feminist festival and march8 demonstration.

So we think that the summer of 2004 will show how it is indeed. In summer, traditionally political activity sleeps, except eco-anarchists making camps. Many initiatives, groups, projects and issues with a left-libertarian orientation in the last 10-15 years did not suffer summer. Only in autumn and winter 2004-2005 will we see, if we have to deal with the

real or temporary increase of the anarchist movement.

**ABB:** Would you like to add anything?

ABB we love you! Please keep your activity.

Vera Bredova & Ivan Bazarov  
(Indymedia Moscow)



want to be like others, who write that "mostly youth are supporting Putin" or "intelligence and oldest workers are the opposition". So we are very careful. It can be said with some certainty, that the main supporters for Putin are low-wage workers (malooplacalni) throughout the regions and a minority of the provincial intelligence and youth. The opposition's supporters are coming from larger towns. They are educated people with a west liberal orientation, employees in businesses and cultural institutions, aged 30-40 year old. Communist party members are also in opposition.

**ABB:** Now... what developments are you expecting from the next four years of Putins leadership, especially in regard to such questions as freedom of speech or war in chechnia?

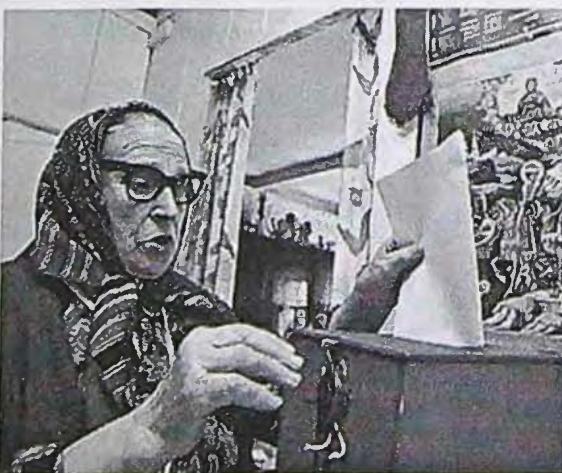
Freedom of speech practically doesn't exist. And we are also expecting the

tion of only several hundred, and some sites in internet hosting abroad.

We don't expect real changes in Chechnia. It looks like another conflict zone like Northern Ireland, Baskland, Palestine. But what will happen in Chechnia or in all Russia is very difficult to say. Government can do anything, and most probably they will.

**ABB:** Do you believe that European-wide growing criticism against Putins politics can influence in any way the situation in Russia? Does any serious libertarian movement have a chance to be formed under the umbrella of international public interest about the execution of human rights in Russia?

No we dont think so. Now in Russia there are no chanels to bring informations to people authentically,



anarchists and libertarian activities. If this is true, how would you explain this phenomenon? Can one only observe this tendency in the capital city?

# INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE

## 'MEDIA AND XENOPHOBIA IN CEE/CIS COUNTRIES'

### 18TH - 23RD MAY 2004

### "CESTA", TABOR, CZECH REPUBLIC

Nationalism, xenophobia, discrimination, racism are one of the most urgent issues to discuss nowadays in the mass media, as well as in the alternative ones. It's not a secret, that in Central and Eastern Europe, as well as everywhere else in the world, ethnic minorities and migrants suffer under constant threats and humiliation, confronted with the unfounded allegations of "war on terrorism", "mafia" or illegal activities. Each country has its own target to limit: Roma, Muslim, Jews, Black or "ex-Soviets", depending on the question which group considers itself to be the host of a country, to push "foreigners" out. With today's globalization and its era of a liberal economy the streams of migrants who seek to better their life conditions follows the free capital flow. But there is no correlation between the speed of the capital and the capabilities of people to overcome prejudice and bias toward foreigners in these rapid changes of globalization.

Protecting national prosperity and social systems from foreigners causes people to loose their humanity and triggers ancient instincts: "my territory". The model of 'conservative daddies' also infects the young generation: growing extreme right-wing groups, fascist's demonstrations, nationalistic movements etc.

CEE and Western Europe have their own unique development of these pheno-

menons mentioned and innate traditions, as the media reflects. Accordingly, resistance toward such concerning events: antifascist's movements, projects meant to increase tolerance differ in West and East (more experience in the West, and a lack of it in the East). In West-Europe mass media proclaims democratic slogans of support for groups of minorities. In EE the media acts more "honest", and does not intend to hide a negative approach toward aliens. The EE countries freshly joining the EU are in a special position. They are urged to comply with democratic principles of the EU in regard to their foreign policies toward minorities (in order to be accepted by EU legislation). Meanwhile, mass media copies the style of EU-media: nicely proclaiming and covering this new concept of "tolerance", which is remote of the reality. Media for the youth is not far a way from the mainstream.

Alternative media in West European countries developed a good tradition of anti-fascists publicity (magazines, books, videos), whereas in the CEE/CIS countries such media is not yet sufficient to have a real voice in society. Independent journalists and issues threatened (often violently) from right-wing politicians.

To discuss the diverse situations in CEE and the West concerning the topics listed, to share

experiences, develop solidarity and supportive tools for each other in resistance/dealing with mass media are the objectives of our conference.

*The purpose of the meeting is to look precisely into the situation in Central and Eastern Europe (using the example of the Czech Republic where the meeting will be held) with the intention to develop alternative media actions in solidarity with other activists from EU countries. The schedule includes discussions, workshops and public events in Tabor, Czech Republic.*

#### Profile of the participants

The participants of the meeting are representatives of youth media, working on anti-racist and anti-discrimination issues, interested to build the European-wide network and work together against all forms of racial discrimination. The working languages: English, Russian, Czech. If you are interested to take part in the meeting please send the APPLICATION FORM before 1st of April on:

[meetings@eyfa.org](mailto:meetings@eyfa.org)

If you'd like to be a part of the discussion group, we can subscribe you to the discussion e-mail list.

#### Partners in the meeting organising

##### Information and Publishing Centre - Alarm!!!

It works on defence of migrants' rights, organises media campaigns against racism and xenophobia, seminars on migration politics, minorities' discrimination. "Alarm" organised a campaign about a new Czech law on foreigners, which was quite discriminative. "Information and Publishing Centre - Alarm!!!" Olga

Samborska E-mail:  
[olhas@web.de](mailto:olhas@web.de) Tel (Czech R.):  
+ 42 607842780. Tel.  
(Germany)+ 49 030 69518122

#### "Antyfashyk Magazine" Belarus

Belarussian magazine "Antyfashyk", which has been published since 1998. Our general aim is to combat racism, xenophobia and fascism in Belarussian Society. Besides of the magazine issuing project we are actively involved in several fields of social and political live. Contact: Aleh Novikau: [oleg\\_navinki@tut.by](mailto:oleg_navinki@tut.by); Website: <http://antifasik.narod.ru/>

#### EYFA

EYFA (European Youth For Action) is a European-wide network of individuals and grassroots groups active on social and environmental issues. Postbus 94115; 1090 GC Amsterdam; the Netherlands; Tel +31 - 20 - 6657743; Fax +31- 20 - 6928757; Contact: [meetings@eyfa.org](mailto:meetings@eyfa.org); Web <http://www.eyfa.org/>

#### CESTA

CESTA (Cultural Exchange Station in Tábor) is an international not-for-profit center established to foster cultural understanding and tolerance through the arts. Since 1993, CESTA has concentrated its efforts on international arts festivals, community projects, group exchanges, residences, and the development of an informational global network for artists in all fields of artistic expression and cultural production. CESTA address: Novákova ulice 387; Tábor 390 01; Czech Republic Web: <http://www.cesta.cz/>

You are welcome to benefit your workshop / lecture / training to the programme. Please fill for that the workshop application form

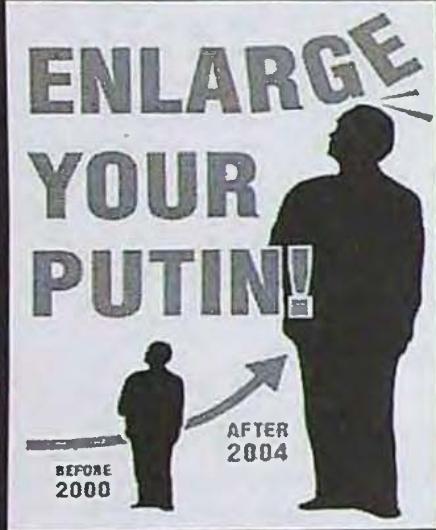


## Artists against elections

Waladymir Putin won elections in Russia. This is not odd, because he was the only one candidate, which has unrestricted access to television, press and radio. In electoral programs PR-specialists built his portrait as strong and competent man. Some artists wanted to discredit this propagandist theatre. In our gallery we present some anti-electoral and anti-putin posters. Unfortunately, only few electors could see them before the elections.



With this boys, Wladimir, you will solve yours problems, war in Chechnya and elections!



No comments

ПРЕЗИДЕНТ - 2

НЕРЕЗАГРУЗКА



14 марта

Is there no exit from Russian matrix?

# INTERKOSMOS 2004 DOES LIFE ON EARTH EXIST?



Paweł Althamer - UFO - installation seen from the Berlin-Warsaw train express, close to the Polish-German borderline.

Interkosmos was a name of an International space research program launched in the 60's by the Soviet Union. Its aim was to engage scientists from the entire socialist block in the exploration of space. In the 70's, within the framework of Interkosmos, astronauts from Czechoslovakia, Poland and other former socialist countries were sent into space. Naturally, the whole undertaking had primarily, a political and propagandistic importance - both on a global as well as on a local scale. The first flight into Space by a Pole was a major media event in 1978, and immediately, the astronaut Miroslaw Hermaszewski, became a hero of the ruling party and the nation.

Perhaps unlike any previous space program, Interkosmos had also a double function, in that it distracted the attention of the citizens of pseudo-democratic socialist countries from the actual events taking place on Earth. Today similarly, we witness the actions of The Bush administration which resorts to the same strategy, promoting a vision of manned flights to Mars, whilst American people struggle to reconcile with its enormous military involvement in conflicts across the world.

The Idea of the INTERKOSMOS 2004 exhibition, which includes participants from the countries of the former socialist block (Czech Republic, Poland, Slovakia, Hungary), is to square this perspective. Artists ask "Does life on Earth exist?". In doing so, they would like to divert all the energy, imagination, curiosity and creativity, which is now used to explore space, to focus back on Earth.

This project has a truly existential meaning, and draws from everyday experiences and states of mind such as; boredom (which is sometimes unearthly indeed), the feeling of absurd, the pleasure of fiction and the anxiety caused by our current state of affairs, as well as the deteriorating conditions of life and existence on Earth.

Artists have more and more frequently resorted to the role of the outsider or alien, in order to conduct experiments on reality that seem incomprehensible, blasphemous or devoid of sense to many. Contrary to that, the message of exhibition is positive, and its ambition futuristic. The essence of the project is in the revitalizing power of imagination and the art of looking at things from a different perspective, so as to perceive the attractive infiniteness of space. Let us treat the matter seriously and not let the politicians send us into outer space. We want to change the point of view, and look back at Earth as though it were an unknown planet. We should let ourselves be surprised by the impenetrable logic of local nature and civilization.

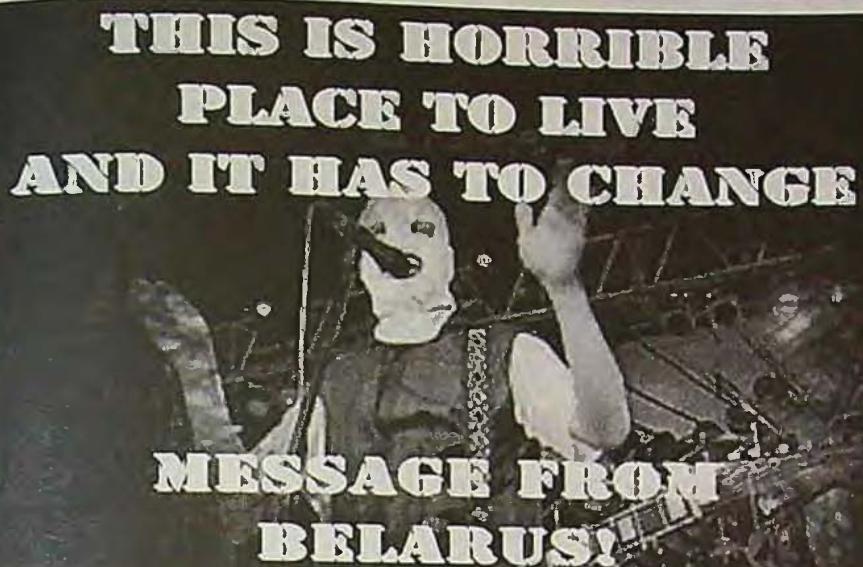
The exhibition is composed mainly of lens-based media, constructed objects and an installation by Erik Binder, created specially for the space at Warsaw art gallery Raster. The photographic medium is employed by the artists precisely because the medium has transformed in the last century our understanding of the cosmos. The artists taking part in this exhibition construct machines which enable them to explore our planet, offering new perspectives and points of view (as in the work of Attila Csörgő, Tom Dale, Sławomir Elsner); examine the world from afar (Krenz & Niedzielsko); search for unearthly sights (Kotzmannova); study the amazing effect of the progressive cyborgization of mankind (Baladrán, Struss) and re-use found objects from earth with which they fabricate whole new worlds (Binder, Kokesch, Krajewska). Or simply they are extraterrestrials themselves (Althamer).

Art exhibition  
INTERKOSMOS 2004.  
Does life on Earth  
exist?: RASTER Hoza  
42/8 Warszawa, PL  
28.02.-1.05.2004.



Kokesch  
Stable and slaughterhouse on the layers of Earth

So, you have possibility to see it, while visiting Warsaw in the end of April (anti-EEF summit)



Alternative rock music from Belarus is present in Poland from many years - the best proof of it is official festival Basowiszcza organized in Poland from end of 80. And every year few punk rock bands from Belarus come to play tours around Poland.

This time we decided to publish short interview with well-known artist from Belarus, Lewon Wolski, leader of N.R.M. Just to stress the fact, that not only directly politically active anarcho-punk bands are facing the problems while their artist activity because of lack of freedom of speech in Belarus. N.R.M. is one of the most popular rock bands from Belarus. Group played gig in Warsaw at the end of march. This band is regular guest in Poland. Group was formed by Lewon Wolski (39) in 1982 in Minsk. At the beginning group was called Mroja (Dream) and it was typical punk rock crew, then band started to play hard rock, and in 1985 musicians turned to alternative rock. In this time Mroja changed name to N.R.M. (it means Independent Republic of Dreams). From beginning of 90. N.R.M. is connected with liberation movement. How does music market look in Belarus? Could we speak about independent scene there?

Lewon Wolski: We could speak only about "Independent" scene. This, what is connected with official market, is colourless and dull. It is copy of Russian pop music, which is copy of American music. Just copy from copy. Does it mean that everybody who decided to play rock music automatically landed in

musical underground?

- Yes. Nobody can record his/her own music, and nobody wants to promote records officially. Radio and television are showing not interest in such a music. This is not a topic for them - both because of text and music. Playing rock you sentence yourself to life on the dregs of society.

**How much concerts do you play?**

- We shouldn't speak about us, because N.R.M. is not a typical band. But usually groups from Belarus do not play often, once a month, sometimes only once a three months. But there are a lot of people who are interested in rock music. They copy songs, they exchange plates for plates. They would go to concerts, but this is not so easy. Usually local administrations don't allow to organize musical events. And not everybody can travel to another city, where exactly some bands play. Does government disturb you? Do they forbid you to play gigs?

- Usually these actions are not organized by central authority. Censor sits in the heads of different provincial officials. This has to change. Maybe it will take even 20 years, but changes have to come. This is artificial situation, which is unreal and created by one person. There is no such odd situation in all Europe. But on the other hand, maybe because of it, it is so interesting to live in Belarus. Of course this is horrible place to live, but it is very interesting inspiration for artists.

*This text was written by R. Senkowski and it was taken, cut and translated from official press.*



Answer for a Putin's supporters slogan  
"put in!"



ОН ВЫБИРАЛ ПОРЯДОК

He chose order - answer to Putin promise of improvement of order and safety.

BEDO PN-2004



РАВНЫЙ СРЕДИ РАВНЫХ

More equal between equals - one of many illusions to unfair access of candidates to medias



This is not truth, but it looks like that. This photo is a vision of Zbigniew Libera, Polish artist and photographer, who altered lately same famous photos. We stole one of his photos for cover of 13 issue of ABB. Now some of his new work of art are available in Internet: [www.atlassztuki.pl](http://www.atlassztuki.pl)

### In the name of free art

In last issue of ABB we wrote about a curiosity case of Dorota Nieznalska, artist from Poland. Passion, her art of work, showed male genitals on a cross. Judge decided that it was offence of religious feelings (it's a crime in Poland!) and he sentenced artist to half year of penal works. The consequence of this verdict is special censorship: managers of Polish galleries are afraid to show works of Nieznalska. Such situation for Nieznalska is artistic death. Work of art may exist only, when it could find spectators.

The case of Nieznalska was one of main subjects of Manifa, feminist demonstration organized on Women's Day in Warsaw. In this year Manifa was organized on 7. March. Before it, at night, in different parts of city organizers of Manifa hanged posters of Nieznalska. The poster was showed naked body of artist on cross, which was made from inscriptions: guilty - not guilty, free - not free art. Church and rightist censorship as well as gigantic influence of catholic church in Polish social and political life were main aim of Manifa this year.

Не ходи -



Don't go to elections - because they will catch you.

It's a pity, that this time art lost with policy, but who knows, maybe be next time it will be completely differently.

**ANARCHIST BLACK CROSS OF MOSCOW****Anarchist Black Cross of Moscow**

P.O. Box 13 109028 Moscow Russia

abc-moscow@avtonom.org

<http://avtonom.org/a4k/>

Please do not write name of the group to envelope!

**1. Preface**

Welcome to first English bulletin of the Moscow Anarchist Black Cross group. We try to publish this bulletin a couple of times a year in order to report current repressive developments in Russia and our activities. This time we have several short reports about repression against anarchists in Russia, and two articles concerning case of New Revolutionary Alternative armed group, which was recently looked by appeal court in Moscow. Translated article "Designated as terrorists" has some liberal deviations for the simple reason that its author, Sasha Cherkasov is not an anarchist but activist of the Memorial human rights centre. However we find it necessary to include it here since it sums up very well many issues related to NRA case, and is quite close to our position. Introduction to ABC-Moscow was distributed in internet before, but since this is first issue of our bulletin we find it necessary to include it here as well. We are currently raising money for Izhevsk anarchist hospital bill (see section 2), and Olga Nevskaya, sentenced for the NRA case (see sections 8 and 10).

**2. Izhevsk anarchist hospital bill fundraiser**

23rd of February anarchists from group Ataka ("Attack", not to be confused Attac) in city of Izhevsk (capital of Udmurtian republic in Russian Federation) demonstrated to commemorate 60th anniversary of Chechen deportation and against still ongoing war in Caucasus. Picket was not legalised, and 10 participants decided to quit after 30 minutes. When leaving the square, some 15 nazis from "Freedom Party" assaulted them, beating two anarchists, Oleg S. and Sasha "Dees" Zimbovski. 6 days later, in Sunday 29th Oleg was feeling so bad that he decided to move to hospital. Dees had not this choice in the first place, since registered in Yekaterinburg his health insurance was not valid in Izhevsk... so he had to hitchhike some 800 kilometres through Ural mountains to Yekaterinburg. Dees has no regular job and is in a difficult financial situation, however yet he does not need financial aid since Yekaterinburg activists managed to raise fund for his medical aid. Oleg S. has been in Anarchist movement and Rainbow Keepers since victorious Votkinsk protests of 2001, which took place in Udmurtia as well. Then his pro-arms industry university faculty expelled him as a reward from his activities. He has participated to every major Rainbow Keepers protest since, in Taman 2002 he was beaten to his head, got a concussion and has suffered from migraine since. There was another scuffle with fascists in Izhevsk in December 2003, so now Oleg's head got smacked third time around. Oleg's family is in a difficult economical situation, and currently he gets drugs for

debt. We must show solidarity to our comrades in Izhevsk, and finance a proper medical aid to Oleg! From what Oleg tells in phone it also seems to me that doctors haven't even been able to make a proper diagnosis, and do not really know what is wrong in his head - so I think we should raise enough money for him to visit a private clinic as well. In Monday 1st of March, the very second day Oleg was in hospital, "Freedom Party" goons visited him, threatening. Party section in the city is organised around a sports club financed by city of Izhevsk, and it is possible that they got paid for jumping on anarchists. Party is also involved in security business, so one would suggest they have Mafia connections as well. For information how to pass money for Oleg's hospital bill contact Moscow Anarchist Black Cross group.

**3. Azov campaign fallout**

Summer protest campaign in city of Azov by local inhabitants, Rainbow Keepers, Autonomous Action and various other anarchist groups against liquid chemicals terminal project by Azovproduct, company under control of the Italian multinational Triboldi was certainly most important anarchist campaign of year 2003 in Russia. Detailed English reports of the campaign have been published in Abolishing the Borders from Below issue #12 and a-infos (make a search with word "azov"), so here we deal only with the resulting repression. Whereas during July and early August repressive forces were disorganised and unable to react effectively against forms of radical protest unforeseen in Azov, from 10th of August onwards repression took a systematical and well-organised character. Strategy of the local police was more that of comprehensivity than that of arbitrary violence, anarchists were detained daily in order to "clarify their identity", due to some time-space discontinuities, legally allowed 3 hours of arrest for this purpose means 5-6 hours in local police station measured in time of the outside world. Plenty of people got misdemeanour charges for breaking absurd Russian regulations of internal migration, most serious consequence of which is a possible but unlikely subtraction of fined amount from their salaries if police succeeds to find their workplaces. More serious charges include "vandalism", which is faced by three persons who sprayed city mayor building during meeting of 17th of July, assault charges against one person who is claimed to have fought with police during blockade of Azov-Starominskaya road 9th of August, and possession of cannabis which was planted on four protest campers 29th of August. Police force of Moscow and its suburbs has showed unusual passion in searching accused people, people who refuse to give testimony are threaten that they must travel half country to Azov in order to stand in trial. It was generally expected that main purpose of these charges is to scare people away from continuing protests in Azov, and it is yet unclear what do they really want from us now. In early Autumn

Rainbow Keepers activists were waging minor psychological warfare against Azov and Rostov Oblast coppers by organizing few dozen deputy investigations on violations committed by cops during the campaign. Not that they formally were of any help, but maybe cops now feel that they are under surveillance, and fuck around a bit less - who knows. Further anti-repression measures have not been taken, since we are waiting end of the criminal investigation - maybe these cases never make it to courts.

**4. Repression in Krasnodar**

Last spring Krasnodar anarchist movement ran to some trouble. Local chekists used a stupid street fight in order to put pressure on local movement. It happened that press-secretary of Rosneft corporation in Kuban, drunken mr. Dolgov provoked a fight with Krasnodar anarchists and broke his finger. 20th of May 2003 cops raided home of D. Ryabinin, then de facto editor-in-chief of Avtonom, confiscating his hard disk and plenty of anarchist press. During summer and autumn, anarchists in Krasnodar were summoned to interrogations, and police threatened to set up a criminal case with charge of "a call to overturn constitutional order" against former editors of Avtonom, to put new anti-terrorist legislation hastily set up after Nord-Ost hostage crisis to practice. 21st of January D. Ryabinin and his co-defendant faced charges because of the street fight. Initiator of the fight, mr. Dolgov was playing in role of the victim, but was content with the settlement which included payment of a sizeable financial compensation to him. In usual practice this means end of the case - this time not, and Ryabinin was sentenced to 6 months in "colony", which is a new form of a low-security level prison. This would be exceptionally hard sentence even without any settlement, and Dmitri himself was completely certain that he would receive a probational sentence, and asked everyone not to waste efforts for support campaign in prior to court. His co-defendant got a probational sentence, since judge considered him young and not as initiator of the conflict. However judge Goncharov of the regional court of Oktyabrkiy area was only voicing the sentence given by not judicial but executive powers - a known FSB agent was present in the court, ensuring that long-standing member of anarchist movement would be neutralised for a while. D. Ryabinin has been participating to anarchist movement since 1989, last 4 years in Autonomous Action in which he is one of the co-founders. He edited first 20 numbers of the journal Avtonom, editorial collective of which had to be moved to Moscow in summer 2003 because of the repression in Krasnodar. Dmitri Ryabinin worked as a journalist in Kuban area regional paper of the official trade union federation, "Delo Truda" (cause of work), although it must be said that this was for purely financial considerations and Ryabinin has no any illusions whatsoever about chances to reform official

**ANARCHIST BLACK CROSS OF MOSCOW**

# ANARCHIST BLACK CROSS OF MOSCOW

yellow business-unions. He would be disappointed if his defenders defined him as a "trade union functioneer". Currently Dmitri is in isolator of Krasnodar, waiting to be sent to colony. Dmitri's parents decided not to apply sentence, since in case of appeal Dmitri could stay 6 months in isolator, where conditions are much harsher than in colony. As letters are not passed out from isolator and he is only allowed to meet with his parents, hostile to anarchist movement, we have no way to know if Dmitri's opinion about a need of support campaign has changed. He was expected to be passed to colony 10 days after sentence, where we could have a direct contact - now 6 weeks have passed. This might be another violation by Krasnodar powers. In situation of imperfect information, we have decided to declare a campaign of support in contrary to Ryabinin's personal wish in prior to court - but yet our campaign has a more humanitarian than political character. We donate for food and cigarettes, which in Russian prisons have to be provided by family members, and importance of letters of support may not be underestimated. So grab your pens and some paper! As Dima's address to be in colony is yet unknown to us, so send letters of support in Russian (preferably) or English to address of Krasnodar group of Autonomous Action, P. O. Box 3472; 350001 Krasnodar; Russia (please do not write name of the group to envelope), Krasnodar anarchist will pass letters on to Dmitri.

## 5. Repressions in Yaroslavl

21st of May 2003 A.S. from Union of Young Anarchist Communists (SMA-K) received a warning from prosecutor, which gave one month time for dissolution of the organisation. Few days later Anarchist-Communist Union of Youth (MA-KS) Union, a group which splitted from SMA-K some time ago received a similar kind of letter. Prosecutor defined both organisations as "Informal extremist youth groups", which are in contradiction with the law on political extremism accepted hastily after Nort-Ost hostage crisis of autumn 2002. In practice, these threats have no influence to practical activities of anarchists in Yaroslavl. At first, they do not have any legal basis since anarchist do not call for "violent overthrow of the constitutional order", but for qualitative changes in the society. At second, no name of an organisation is a fetish for anarchists, so it is no trouble to declare one organisation buried and to continue work in another framework. These illegal threats of prosecutor seem to have been just a test, and have not yet been followed by any further repressive measures. Modest anti-electionary activities of Yaroslav anarchists managed to create quite a bit of uproar in the city during autumn. After the very first graffiti action, chief of administration of internal affairs in Yaroslav oblast general Petuhov declared in local television that he will personally deal with "anti-state elements". Soon local tabloid "Soverni Krai" dedicated to anarchists a sizeable article, tabloid of B.

Blatov foundation also scarified its first page to "dirty leaflets and miserable tags" calling to boycott elections. Chairman of psychologics in Yaroslavl State Pedagogical University called people "not to surrender in front of such a massive psychological attack". TV channel NTM dedicated an internet-forum to discussions on anarchist anti-electionary graffiti. Anarchists also made plenty of graffiti against fascist National-Bolshevik Party, for which one of their members was assaulted next to his home. Police of Kirov administrative area in Yaroslavl was especially unhappy because of the anarchist graffiti, chief of one of the sections major Karpichev called one anarchist to a discussion, where he mentioned that local business is really annoyed with anarchists, and promised to personally dig graves to whole resistance in case they continue their activities. During their brief anti-election campaign Yaroslavl anarchists managed to piss off all reactionary powers in the city - fascists, nazbols, mafia, police, FSB, deputies of the city duma and administration of the oblast!

## 6. Pragmatic school of anti-repression struggles.

7th of November, "day of pacification and agreement" was the usual circus in twin cities of Volzhk/Volgograd (formerly Stalingrad), city mayor leading speech in the demonstration. Local anarchists went to harass business-as-usual, raising the black flag. Unsurprisingly in a city where any anarchist actions are usually repressed, they quickly landed to a cop station. One especially pissed copper decided to plant a packet of grass to one of the arrested, which would have meant a year or two in jail. Fortunately this cop changed his plans when being offered a bottle of vodka by comrades of the victim of his planned fit up. Maybe not very principled, but workable way to struggle against repression!

## 7. NRA case - position of ABC Moscow

14th of May 2003 Moscow municipal court gave sentences in so called NRA case. Nadezhda Raks received 9 years in prison, Larisa Romanova 6.5 years and Olga Nevskaya 6 years, all to be served in a camp of normal regime. Tatyana Sokolova received probational sentence because of her active cooperation during the investigation. 4th of December appeal court in Moscow reduced Romanova's sentence by one year, where sentences of Raks and Nevskaya were kept unchanged. Abbreviation NRA, which means New Revolutionary Alternative appeared first time in press in autumn of 1996, after a failed attempt to torch a military call-up center in Moscow. Purpose of this action was explained in "Comuniqué #1", subscribed by NRA and widely quoted or completely published in press. Anonymous arsonists announced that military call up center was targeted as a protest against driving Russian youth to Chechen war. NRA never published any extensive documents about its political views. During 1997-

1998 there were few more actions claimed by NRA. All of them were quite small, with minor material damage, more like symbolical bangs than explosions. Palace of work of official trade unions, one more military call-up centre, military prosecutor's office and police bus were targeted. FSB's (former KGB) reception was mined, and in Moscow suburb Podolsk statue of Nikolai II was destroyed. Loudest action of NRA was an explosion close to FSB's reception 4th of April 1999, force of which was first estimated as one troyle equivalent by special services, then as 3 troyle equivalents. Five persons were arrested during investigation of the "case #772" (explosion at FSB's reception) - Alexander Biryukov in summer of 1999, Tatyana Sokolova, Olga Nevskaya, Larisa Romanova and Nadezhda Raks in February-April of year 2000. Romanova, Sokolova and Raks are members of RKSM(b), Russian Communist Union of Youth (bolshevik). Olga Nevskaya defines herself as an anarchist. Power declared court to be secret, which shocked even liberal mainstream media. But they made no mistake - lightly speaking chekists have lots to hide here. They have a plenty of skeletons in the closet - violations committed by investigators and just fantastical moments, which even after closing the case give reason to assume that a big part or even whole history was fabricated by special services, or at least is a result of their provocation. Although views of most among the sentenced are not close to us, NRA case resulted numerous interrogations, home searches and general rise of interest from side of FSB to anarchist activities. To sum up experience from all trouble which happened around this case, we may say that we have nothing to learn from NRA. As Ken Knabb writes, best means against provocateurs in radical protest movements is to make struggle as open as possible, and structures of the resistance as transparent as possible. Among the sentenced, most sympathetic is without a doubt Olga Nevskaya. Although investigation managed to squeeze testimony from her during prolonged arrest and she was released from investigation in prior to court, she disclaimed her testimony in court. Court punished her reluctance to testify against her comrades with 6 years in prison. Journal Avtonom and Moscow group of Anarchist Black Cross will maintain connection with her, and we will support her materially during imprisonment. If you want to support Nevskaya (financially or with letters of support), contact Anarchist Black Cross of Moscow, and we will pass further to her. Prison where she is kept is expected to change soon, so we will not publish her current address here.

## 8. An introduction to Anarchist Black Cross of Moscow

After heated years 1905-1907 thousands of anarchists and socialists were sent to labour camps and exile, first groups of Anarchist Black Cross (until 1919 called Anarchist Red

## ANARCHIST BLACK CROSS OF MOSCOW

Cross) were founded 1906 to support them. Organisation became international the next year already, when a group was set up in London. Although contact with anarchist political prisoners of the Soviet Union was lost in 1930's, international organisation has continued its activity in various forms ever since. Russian anarchist movement newborn in 1980's was immediately targeted with repressions, and during the following 15 years several successful and campaigns against repression were organised. But during first years of the 21st century these initiatives disappeared completely from Moscow, and in summer of 2003 it was decided to refound Moscow group of ABC, since still no-one is protecting anarchists against repressions except anarchists themselves. We support all anti-authoritarians, who are persecuted due to their political activities or acts which do not contradict ideal of anarchism. And whenever possible, we support also prisoners who became anti-authoritarians during their sentences, so-called "social prisoners" who were forced to break laws for subsistence or in fight against despotism of the ruling class, and prisoners who fight against the prison-industrial complex from inside. As anarchists we are against all prisons. We believe in direct action for destruction of the capitalism and the state. We are not a human rights organisation, since our goal is not defence of the laws but their destruction. In some cases we may support prisoner for purely humanitarian reasons. Most elementary form of help is writing to prisoners, since the main goal of power is to isolate our comrades from the movement. We are publishing list of addresses of the political prisoners, so that anyone could send letters of support. We also have a support fund, which helps with legal costs and supports prisoners materially, fund also finances litterature to prisoners, such as journals Avionom and Pryamoe Deystvie which we send for free to all those prisoners in the former Soviet Union upon request, who are not enemies of the anarchist movement. We try to react quickly against all repressions against authoritarians all around the world, and we are connected to Black Cross groups all around the world. We are not only reacting against most outrageous acts against our freedom, we also distribute information on alternatives of the prisons, cops and electronic surveillance of the everyday life. We also try to prevent repression, this is why we distribute information about behaviour in interrogations, during arrests and other similar situations among the revolutionary movement. Moscow group of Anarchist Black Cross is a common project of anarchist collectives in Moscow. Yet we have two members - Moscow group of Autonomous Action, and Inter-Professional Union of Labour (MPST, Moscow group of KRAS-AIT). We invite anyone to support and to participate to our work - most elementary form of support is to write to prisoners and to distribute our materials. It would be even better if you could participate to our projects, or to set up

your own Black Cross group in your area - for that you need only thirst of equality and solidarity.

### 9. Our activities in fall 2003 and some plans for upcoming activities

Few people participate to our activities, so mainly we do correspondence with Anarchist Black Cross groups abroad and publish informations about repressions against international anarchist movement - if we do not give international support, how could we call international support for us? As for Russian anti-repression work, it is more likely that groups raise spontaneously dealing with all the cases, just as Ryabinin case has mostly been dealt by Krasnodar anarchists, and Azov repression has mostly been dealt by Moscow Rainbow Keepers people. Since we have in average 3 persons in our meetings, not too much should be expected from our group. But if you have something to ask about repressions in Russia, we may always direct you to right people (if you do not find them already). We distribute booklet of human rights activist Nikolai Schur "Survival in the justice system" with postal costs only through A-distro, we also plan to publish a booklet about anarchist political prisoners worldwide, and small reprint of Albrecht's book "How to be a witness", an old dissident classic which was not available for few years already. We have raised some 1600 roubles of money, about half of which from our collective members and rest by individual donations - we financed packet for Olga Nevskaia with 500 roubles, rest of the money remains to be used. 14.12.2003 we organised a small open lecture in Moscow on theme "anarchist political prisoners today". We have also published materials in Russia on repressions in Greece and Spain, on Thomas Wilkoszewski and Jeffrey "Free" Luers. We have also an idea to publish postcards on some outrageous cases of repression in Russia and abroad.

### 10. Designated as terrorists ? (by Alexander Cherkasov from Memorial Human Rights Center)

31st of October 2003 Moscow city court started hearing in case against Adam Dekkushev and Yusuf Krymshamhalov - two persons accused of explosions in explosions in Moscow and Volgodonsk in September 1999, which took life of 243 and injured more than 1000 persons. Accused face charges on article 205 of the criminal codex - "terrorism", more exactly its third moment, for actions which "...are committed by an organised group, and imprudently [that is how the law states - A.C.] caused a death or other serious consequences..." 13th of November high court of Russian Federation began hearing on appeal of the case against Larisa Romanova, Nadezhda Raks, Olga Nevskaia and Tatyana Nehorosheva. Women are accused of organising four explosions in Moscow and Moscow suburbs 1998-1999, which killed or wounded no-one. In spring of 2002 in hearing in Moscow city

court, women were accused according to the very same article 205 - to Romanova prosecutor demanded 11, to Raks 12 and to Nevskaia 13 years in a strict regime. Something is wrong here. According to charges, on the dock were nothing less than Basaev, Hattab and Bin Laden shaved and in skirts. According to FSB and prosecutor, they were members of a left-wing underground organisation "New Revolutionary Alternative" (NRA), which was claimed to have committed a series of bomb attacks in Moscow 1998-1999, building of the very same FSB having been targeted among others. 4th of April 1999 indeed a forceful explosion broke all windows in the Kuznetskiy Most street, and made a hole to reception of the FSB. Thanks to lucky coincidence, or successfully and purposefully chosen timing of the assault in night-time, this "connection between chekists and masses" did not took human causalities.

It may sound paradoxical, but roots of the left wing opposition date back to times of USSR - circles and groups appeared then all-around. In 20's and 30's it was young anarchist and socialist organisations, echoes of diverse thinking of the beginning of the century. And during following decades, all hypocrite and "liberationary" rhetoric and didactics of the soviet system could not damp this left-wing underground - we list here just few examples among thousands: In 1951 members of "Union of struggle for the cause of the revolution" were arrested, organisation was born in literature circle of the Moscow house of pioneers. Three boys were shot, rest were sent to special camps. In the middle 60's group of "bluebells", which consisted of post-graduate students of Saint-Petersburg polytechnic university was sent to camps in Mordovia. Group published paper "Kolokol" (little bell or blue bell). Among those sent to Lefortovo in 1982 in "case of the socialists" was popular political commentator of today, Boris Kagarlitsky. At first sight, antonym of the left-wing "podpolya" would be those imitating revolting in the West, the hippies, struggling against "the system". But according to global standards, these domestic followers of Abbie Hoffman were also "leftists". Both of them opposed the official ideology, so in eve of the collapse of the Soviet union "podpolya" and "underground" converged towards each other. In beginning of the nineties, "leftists" where no doubt part of the democratic movement. Left wing radicals defended White House both 1991 and 1993, which honoured them status of the official opposition of the new power. Reading texts of "leftists" of those years, it is hard to grasp what where they about - glorification of violence, usual big talk of hangers-around, or just artistic concept - and even more difficult it was to see difference between different tendencies. Elements of happening were too strong, ideology was just element of the ritual - towards 1996 this changed. Since beginning of the 90's left-wing underground adopted komsomol attributics and phraseology

## ANARCHIST BLACK CROSS OF MOSCOW

**ANARCHIST BLACK CROSS OF MOSCOW**

- or more like parody of it. Purified pomposness, formed by the system cornerstone of which it became, was now fighting against capitalism, defined as a caricature in the spirit of "know-notlings in the moon". Oxymoron, which reached epic portions in Edward Limonov and his national-bolshevism. But for leftists it was transformation of dead to living. Underground transformed into podpolya, non-conformism became resistance. Until 1996 artistic aspect of the movement practically disappeared. Everything became painfully serious.

During nineties there were many explosions in Moscow. Mostly criminals sorting out their business between each other, but there were some exceptions as well. During first Chechen war 1994-1996 one heard explosions in trolley-buses, trains and metro wagons. Political power tried to blame Chechen warriors, without any special success. Actually, Litvinenko and Felshtinski, authors of the book with much-explaining title "FSB is exploding Russia" proposed a contrary version, which last year got some proven foundation during court hearings of the so-called Lazovski band case. And between Chechen wars there were "leftist" explosions.

In 1997 announcement of exploding memorial statue of Nikolai II by sculptor Klykov seemed at first like a bad 1st of April joke. FSB agents who came to spot were surprised indeed, and at first denied political connection of the explosion altogether. Even wild version about revenge of competing sculptors was proposed. Vice-prosecutor of the area also did not figure it out. "why statue?", he reminded that there had been some conflicts with people who prayed in the church nearby which included threats, without any special political context. Some "Red Army of Workers and Peasants" (RKKA) announced, that explosion was a protest against plans to bury Lenin. "Command of RKKA and leadership of the NKVD (precedent of KGB) of the Soviet Union appeal personally to you, comrade Grigorev, so that you could pass our request to deputies of State Duma, in order to sweep aside certain opinions, such as that of Viktor Chernomyrdin, on vandalist and hooligan character of our action." However addressee of this fax, deputy of state duma and member of the central committee of the Russian Communist Worker's Party (RKRP) also preferred to talk about action as a first of April joke. In night of July the 6th statue of Peter the Great was mined in the centre of Moscow. In night of 20th of July memorial plate of Romanovs was exploded in the Vagankovskiy cemetery. Already 25th of June a completely serious accusation of terrorism was brought to left-wing radical Andrei Sokolova, further on against whole organisation - Revolutionary War Council (Revvoensovet, RVS). End of the jokes. Few more people were arrested as well. Leftists got their political prisoners, "politzeiki". However in solidarity actions outside investigative isolator Lefortovo their support-

ers announced, that they "committed not terrorist, but esthetic acts, liberating us from ugly monuments". Federal security court could not proof charges about terrorism. Sentence was two years probational sentence for vandalism.

This performance with explosives could yet be seen as idyllic - how much would have domestic history changed, if narodniks and esers concentrated on attacking statues and symbols! However, with any person with familiarity on Russian past and present, such games raise an allergic reaction - especially when combined with talk about revolutionary violence. Moreover, underground in our country was too often connected with political affairs. Double provocateur Azev lead Fighting organisation of esers, and deputy, bolshevik and agent of Tsar's Ohrana Malinovski read out texts of Lenin from the tribune of Duma. After revolution terrorists and underground revolutionaries of yesterday lead secret police - ChK - and succeeded to organise more provocations than anyone else, during twenties and time of the war. Still one could console oneself with the fact that for modern left-wing radical scene, consisting from small and microscopic, mostly youthful groups of most various tendencies from Maoists to anarchists, word "terror" was just part of the happening. Everything changed in 1999 - leftist scene saw, together with the whole Russian society, follow-up of REAL terrorist acts. It is hardly a coincidence, that since that there was no single "revolutionary" explosion. End of the game.

In 13th of August of 1998 a home-made device exploded in reception of the FSB at Kuznetski most. First investigation was carried out by local homeless. They did not find any empty bottles from the debris, about what they complained to security of the building. This device was first of all a loud bang, this is how it was build by "engineers of the people". Lubyanka did not paid too much attention to this event, and bothered to do criminal investigation only in December, when it was about to finalise their annual accounting. In night of first of November 1998 statue of Nikolai II made by the same Klykov was set off to air once again in Poldolsk. This time Nikolai was no more of bronze, but of plaster. Local prosecutor was not too far-sighted this time, and opened investigation on article "deliberate destruction of property". In the end, 4th of April 1999 a strong explosion shook Kuznetski most. 23rd of February in the following year 2000 Nadezhda Raks and Olga Nevskaia were arrested, 3rd of March it was turn of Tatyana Nehorosheva, wife of the aforementioned Andrei Sokolov, and finally 6th of April Larisa Romanova was arrested. They were accused according to 205th article, "terrorism" - for plaster Nikolai and Kuznetski most. All of them were from 20 to 25 years old. Only Muscovite was anarchist Larisa Romanova, she had graduated from her institute, married with left-wing activist Ilya Romanov from Nizhni Novgorod and gave birth to a child. In December 1998 she was arrested claimed to

have planned assassination of governor of Krasnodar, "batka Kondrata", she gave birth to her second child while in prison. This time accusation on terrorism collapsed in the court, she was given a probationary sentence and she was silently released in the September of 1999.

From now on Larisa was concerned on taking care of her husband, who was arrested while she was under investigation. Nadezhda Raks also had higher education, an English teacher by profession. She came to Moscow in 1997 from Kaluga. She was militant of RKRP (RCWP), assistant of aforementioned Duma deputy Vladimir Grigorev, she organised legal defence for arrested members of RVS (RWC). Tatyana Nehorosheva was born to family of an officer, who is involved in modestly distributed modern communist press. Invalid from childhood, she was born in Kamchatka and lived in Moscow suburbs. A Komsomol activist, married to aforementioned Andrei Sokolov, also supported arrested members of RVS. Common concerts created connections between Raks, Nehorosheva and Romanova, but there was no close friendship between them. Youngest and less "committed" of the arrested is Olga Nevskaia from the city of Volzhik, after school she tried unsuccessfully to enter medical trade school, since 1996 she joined along with friends to ecological protest actions, lived with irregular earnings, stayed in places of acquaintances, went to punk concerts. In one of the concerts she acquainted with Romanova, and at times she went to have a shower in place of Raks. This all happened 4 years until harsh sentence. But instead of a feeling about triumph of justice, we have only doubts. Leaving most of the questions to advocates writing appeals, we raise just few of them here. After arrest of girls, Sergei Kravtsov from press-service of UFSB of Moscow announced that "we do not think, that NRA is a sizeable organisation. We suppose it has about one hundred members. It supports anarchist ideas." For FSB that is maybe not so much, but for leftists it is an astronomical number. Such dinosaurs disappeared a long time ago amongst the ranks of left-wing organisations (only national-bolsheviks of Limonov remain). Referring to testimony of anonymous investigator of the case, FSB announced that it is possible that NRA "is a mask used by extremists". But nobody had heard about a Nessie named NRA until then, and in this underground scene everyone "secretly" knows everyone, and name seldom changes the essence. And you will not make an organisation from four arrested. First of all, until arrest they were little known to each other - although it is not possible to completely escape connections in this narrow scene. And even if they get closer to each other, you won't form a party from two komsomolists and one anarchist - much less difference in opinions is already enough for a split. Fourth of the women participated to ecological actions "for company". Article of criminal code understands "organisation" in much more stricter sense - it

**ANARCHIST BLACK CROSS OF MOSCOW**

**ANARCHIST BLACK CROSS OF MOSCOW**

is not about one's opinions, but about common actions, and also here not everything converges. In time of the first explosion Nevskaya was not in Moscow, but in a honey-moon trip with her coming-up husband. In time of the last explosion Romanova was not around, she is the one who investigation considered as ideologist and organisator. In time of the explosion she had already spent several months in FSB isolator in Krasnodar - for the of claimed assassination attempt on then governor Kondratenko. Maybe explosion in Moscow was organised telepathically from the cell, or maybe through cabinet of the investigator through departmental special connection? And where are all the remaining members of NRA, "around one hundred"? Investigation discovered only two of them. Alexander Biryukov was sentenced separately, and directed to involuntary commitment. The whole case was based on testimony of another, A.S. who is on dispensary psychiatric care. A.S., reporter of the TV program "Scandals of the week", seems to have been both producer and spin-doctor of the project. He went together with "terrorists" to do reconnaissance, and after explosion he distributed communiqués of the NRA, which are only testimony about existence of the organisation. He explained his deeds with his work as a journalist, and FSB seems to agree - for active co-operation with the investigation, A.S. was cleared from all the charges. This smells like an all-out fit up. And without testimony of A.S. whole case would have collapsed. From all four women, only Nevskaya gave testimony during the investigation. Together with Nehorosheva (whose epilepsy aggravated while on remand) were freed with condition of not leaving Moscow, and immediately charges were severed from severe second moment to most serious third moment of article number 205. And two women, half of the "terrorist organisation" have no cue about them being "especially dangerous" when in freedom, instead they accurately go to any interrogations. In court, Nevskaya disclaims any testimony, she tells about psychological pressure from side of the investigation - prosecutor punishes by demanding longest sentence to her. Nehorosheva in contrary admitted his guilty, and was sentenced to a probationary sentence. Court was declared as closed, "in order to protect witnesses". However there were no any new anonymous witnesses, and whole leftist scene had already long time known about testimony of A.S., not to talk about temporarily released "terrorists". So who who was protecting whom? Claims about "seriously dangerous terrorists" are hardly more credible when considering serious epilepsy of Nehorosheva, two small children of Romanova and serious near-sightness of Nevskaya and Raks. No doubt there is much to be asked. A qualified lawyer might have been able to deal with the issue accurately, but this problem was taken care of by investigation. About only possible lawyer, which at that time was professionally working on article number

205, was arrested and interrogated as a witness. For sure he had no any information whatsoever about the case, but he was already disqualified to work as a lawyer with the case.

Third moment of the 205th article talks about serious consequences, death of people. Investigation was searching victims, but found none - explosions happened night-time in empty places. Just compare with bombs in Kashirksaya or Guryanov street... The concept of terror itself gives a hint about influencing the society and pressure against political power. But society keeps not paying attention to left-wing radicals, just as before. Investigation supposed, that actions of mythical NRA should have raised awareness on cause of already imprisoned radicals. Whose attention, attention of left-wing political or constituents? But there was no any solidarity from institutionalised left, if there were appeals to them they reached no result. Our left-wing opposition is a shrewd woman. No wonder why Gennadi Zyuganov said no word for the women "Our don Tameo is a coward, but known politician". His enviable political instinct he proved already in October 1993, when he quickly distanced himself from any mass actions, and ensured chance to participate successfully to Duma elections. And enfant terrible of Duma, Vasili Shandybin did not said a word. If they heard or saw something, they considered it only as provocation of certain forces against them, in order to disturb their harsh struggle inside walls of the parliament. There was no echo even among ranks of the left-wing radicals, due to their fragmentation. Attempts to organise something in the spirit of "political red cross" which would reach out from completely narrow circle of friends and like-minded had no success - such blocks quickly degraded to komsomol meetings, hearings about political correctness of participants. This although human solidarity was in a need - conditions in prisons were no holiday. Girls were beaten up. This we know from letters of Larisa Romanova - while she was in isolator with her baby, after one such "conflict" with the administration she lost her breast milk. Only reaction which defenders managed to reach among deputies was visit of deputy Sergei Adamovich Kovalev to the isolator. This was not about political solidarity - long-standing human rights defender and former political prisoner was interested of conditions of arrest of the women, and fulfilling of processual norms from side of the investigation.

12th of May 2003 suicide bomber drove a truck with one ton of explosives to Chechen village of Znamenskoe, 60 persons got killed. 14th of May judge Komarova sentenced Nevskaya to six years, Raks to nine years and Romanov to six and half years of imprisonment - only with Nehorosheva she fulfilled demand of the prosecutor. Although sentenced were less than those asked by the prosecutor, in today's scale of war and terror they are unaccountable severe. Could one talk about a triumph of justice? Hardly a compro-

mise between schizophrenic point of view of elder ladies nostalgic with times of Stalin, who claim that "case is a fit up, meant to scare our young red activists", and paranoid idea of FSB that it is all horrible terrorism, which must be crushed with iron heel. Sentence should never be defined as just, in scale of Russian law, nor humane, taking into account personality of the accused. And how about looking it all from the other side? Relevance of the actions of accused women has maybe decreased. But it is absolutely necessary for FSB and prosecutor to have sentences according to article 205. Whereabouts of Shamil Basayev are still unknown. Case against Wahhabists of Karachai-Cherkessiya on explosions of the houses in Moscow quietly collapsed in the court. But there is a common interest, and demand of bosses! And here we have ready-made terrorists arrested in Moscow - we only have to make a case. We need an organisation - so let us set up the puppet NRA! We need several episodes - so let us qualify plaster Nikolai as terror! Since we need "especially serious consequences", but we do not have any victims, we have to refer to scratched Mercedes and destroyed collection of Versace another side of the road from FSB reception in Kuznetski most as "especially serious consequences"! And no-one is concerned, that Larisa has a small child with her, who has born in captivity. Now also 11 months old son of Olga Nevskaya is also sent to "zone" with her mother. But that is real life which interests no-one. But in virtual space, in respective graph of accounting appears "+ 1": a group of serious terrorists has been sentenced. As if this sentence here could stop kamikazes in trucks full of explosives or jihad training camps, during summer we had well enough terrorist acts in Russia to prove the contrary - Mozdok, Tushino, Tverskaya-Yamskaya, Mozdok another time... Meanwhile Moscow city court prepared hearing protocols four months to be sent to the highest court, advocates had to struggle to be allowed to contact their clients: now they should receive their final sentences. There is no-one else to be appealed - as it is said, executive power is not allowed to influence to results of the courts. Nevertheless, once NRA was assessed in the very highest level - 25th of December in year 2000 in an interview in Radio Russia Vladimir Putin said "... judging from what at times happen, we know about such events as explosion of the statue of Nikolai II, and analogous cases - we may say, that there exists an illegal section of the opposition. But I do not think that they have some means to reach their goals with such means in the Russia of today. I think it is absolutely impossible". Fragments of this material have been published in Russian language in "Ezhenedelniy Zhurnal" and "Polit.ru". Full text is available in portal "Human rights in Russia"

(hro.org),  
[http://www.hro.org/ngo/11\\_03/14\\_11\\_03.htm](http://www.hro.org/ngo/11_03/14_11_03.htm)

**ANARCHIST BLACK CROSS OF MOSCOW**

**POLISH ANARCHIST BLACK CROSS / SPRING 2004**

**Polish  
Anarchist  
Black Cross  
Infobulletin #5 -  
Winter/Spring 2004**

**Another Verdict in Anti-War Demo Case  
Krakow**

On 13th of November last year, a municipal court in Krakow delivered a verdict in the case of Wojciech Goslar, accused of leading 2 anti-war demos, organized by the Anarchist Federation (FA), one in front of the American Consulate (during Bush's visit to Krakow on 30th of May) and one in front of the Russian Consulate (on the anniversary of the beginning of the Chechen war in December 2002). Goslar was found guilty of the first charge and was sentenced to 20 hours of free social work and ordered to pay court fees of 50 złoties (12 EUR). There are other cases underway in Krakow's courts related to 8 people who participated in the above mentioned anti-war demos and also to some other anti-war activists.

**Policeman Acquitted of Guilt  
Krakow**

A municipal court in Krakow acquitted a policeman who they had found guilty. In February 2002, punks organised a punk festival in Krakow which was a part of a nationwide charity action. All benefits from the gig were destined to help sick children. However police appeared and triggered a riot. As a result, many people were taken to hospital, some of them with extensive injuries as police used rubber bullets. A mid-rank police officer, the deputy commander of the riot police, was accused of violating people's rights which means that the court found him guilty enough to be responsible for kicking people who were lying on the ground; this was shown on TV. The court delivered the "surprising" verdict when they found the policeman guilty, but then assessed his deed as "only minorly harmful for society" which means no prison for his brutality. He was fined only 1500 złoties (330 EUR). On the another hand, there are some punks that are still facing 2 years of prison with same accusation. No justice, no peace - fuck the police.

**Anarchist Fined - Wroclaw**

Piotr Góral, a member of the Anarchist Federation in Wrocław was fined 1000 złoty (275 EUR) as well as the costs of legal proceedings in a case of assault on a policeman during a blockade of a city hospital in November 2002. Piotr joined the blockade, which was organised jointly by FA and employees of a hospital who were fighting against its planned closure. Riot police brutally dispersed the blockade. Piotr will appeal. We are going to keep you informed.

(for example assaults on policemen) and misdemeanors, however the more policemen testify, the vaguer the picture of the whole case is presented to the court. Police testimonies are incoherent and mutually exclusive. Activists are pleading not guilty, accusing policemen of lack of professionalism as well as using of mean inadequate to the situation. We will let you know about future development of this case.

**Police Action against Anti-War Demo  
Poznań**

On 5th of October, the Free Caucasus Committee organised a demo against the farce called elections in Chechnya. The demo gathered in front of one of city's cinema and was attacked by riot police supported by the anti-terrorist squad, armed with rifles. Demonstrators were beaten by police using batons and rifle butts. Moreover, some journalists were hit as well. 18 persons were detained.

**"Bzyk" Remains at Large  
Krakow**

Adam "Bzyk" Mucha, and activist of FA, according to the latest court sentence, is to remain free having suspended its verdict for taking part in assaulting a policeman during an FA Krakow demo.

**Sold for 500 EUR  
Berlin**

A 29-year-old Pole living in Berlin was sentenced by a local court to 3 years and 10 months of prison for taking part in a riot, active resistance, insulting police and causing serious harm to intervening policemen during the annual May Day riot. He and 7 other people were recognized after wanted posters were hung all over Berlin. A reward of 500 EUR was offered.

**The Case of Anti-War Activists  
Warsaw**

In September last year there was another trial in a long series of trials against anti-war activists from Warsaw, accused of organizing and participation in an illegal gathering against the war in Iraq and blocking traffic in the streets. The demonstration was violently interrupted by riot police who dispersed the gathered crowd of protesters. Policemen are accusing activists of various crimes

**Polish Prisoners  
supported by ABC**

Tomek Wilkoszewski - sentenced for 15 years of prison for killing a nazi-skinhead in self-defence. Recently he started his eighth year in prison. He is constantly supported by ABC. Any other financial help for Tomek would be appreciated. Please find the bank account number below.

Michał Bartoń - Warszawa  
52 1140 2004 0003 8022 5731 712

Title: Dla Tomeka

Please write letters to him:  
Tomasz Wilkoszewski,  
Zakład Karny,  
ul. Orzechowa 5,  
98-200 Sieradz, Poland

Tomek's story is available in 7 languages at <http://www.tomek.most.org.pl/>

\*\*\*

Write also to the imprisoned punks from Warsaw. (They would appreciate zines and music too):

Dawid Hass  
Zakład Karny, ul. Bartnicka 10  
87-800 Włocławek, Poland

Janusz Szewczyk  
Zakład Karny, ul. Sandomierska 1,  
39-200 Debica Poland

Włodzisław Matuszewski,  
Zakład Karny, ul. Parkowa 1,  
89-120 Potulice, Poland

You can help us by sending a small donation:

PEKAO BP XX oddział Poznań  
ul. Stary Rynek 44  
61722 Poznań  
Poland

Account No. 10204085-5999100-270

Owner: Marek Piekarzki  
Foreign contacts to Polish ABC:  
[pomierz@poczta.onet.pl](mailto:pomierz@poczta.onet.pl)  
Anything interesting to publish?  
Send it to: [buletny@o2.pl](mailto:buletny@o2.pl)

Translation: Pomierz / ABC Trójmiasto with a great help of Laure A./Attica.

**POLISH ANARCHIST BLACK CROSS / SPRING 2004**

## Declaration text of LIBERTARIAN COORDINATION AGAINST NATO

Our dreams are darkening, we are somehow becoming helpless. Someone wants us to feel so. Control of our lives is taken from our hands for those who are growing their capital. The boss exploits the worker, capital owners the poor and rich countries the rest of the world. This is the system of money, capitalism... For years, capitalism is consolidating its existence with organizations like IMF, NATO. Today, NATO is functioning as the greatest army of the existing system. This time, NATO meeting - organized by "the masters of the universe" to take new decisions in the name of us - will be in Istanbul next June.

NATO, being organized by USA and its allies, is a global organization ready to make any kind of massacre for surviving capitalism. From one side, USA is the state taking the greatest share from cream of this system, and from the other side it is among the countries in which many homeless and poor people live. State only represents the dominant [class] and depending on their taxes, it protects the capitalists.

For us, the struggle of coming together and organizing is the struggle for establishing a new world without masters and exploitation. This struggle will be baseless as long as production instruments are not DIRECTLY provided to be in the hands of the producers.

Because a society carrying on its existence by consuming objects that are pervaded by exploitation can not be free. We do not believe in reaching a solution with a shift of government, we want a world without governments.

For centuries, bosses, commanders, leaders, husbands and older people made us believe that they can take better decisions in the name of us. We do believe that none should have authority to take decisions in the name of others. In everywhere we exist, we believe in the necessity of establishing and contributing the establishment of such synergies in which everyone can take decisions together. The process of establishing a world without masters and exploitation can only be possible with the global struggle of those all together, whose labor is exploited, whose sexual identity and/or sexual orientation is degraded, with those people whose cultures, languages are annihilated, who are dominated

**LIBERTARIAN COORDINATION  
AGAINST NATO**  
<http://haziran2004.cjb.net>  
[antitoriter2004@excite.com](mailto:antitoriter2004@excite.com)

## Save the Zengo from a NATO radar station Southern Hungary

2004.02.18.

NATO plans to build a new radar locator on the top of Zengo, the highest peak of the Mecsek mountains in Southern Hungary. Green activists and local citizens want to save the beautiful peak from the destructions. Last week dozens (later hundreds) of people climbed to the peak, some of them chained themselves to the trees. Friday morning private security forces fought with the environmentalists, one activist injured on his face. But the activists prevented the tree-cutters from doing any damage.

Rügyeckék, Humanists and Humusz. A spectacular amount of media attention was accompanied by widespread support and sympathy. This is the second success in a row, after environmental organizations managed to dissuade the Budapest city government from their plans of widening the road along the river embankment. Before this event Védegylet had written a letter to NATO asking them to build the radar locator somewhere else and similar demands are presented to the City government.

Future), Greenpeace and others, roughly 100 activists and local citizens, old-pensioners climbed the mountain to prevent the felling of trees. Techniques included chaining oneself to a tree as well as climbing trees. At nightime a handful of people remained on guard. While a gang of treecutters as well as security men showed up, they were successfully prevented from doing any damage. Whenever they would remove one activist showed up, they were successfully prevented from doing any damage.



### NATO: Back off of Zengo!

Local citizens, Budapest and Baranya county residents were able to prevent the destruction of protected wildlife on the top of Zengo, a mountain in South-West Hungary. Holding out until and beyond the expiry date of the permit to cut the trees, the authorities were unable to break the will of the brave locals and activists. The Mecsek nature protection area, with special plant life existing almost exclusively in this area, has remained unharmed. Many organizations came together to shield the mountain from the attempts of the Ministry of Defense to stomp its feet there. The early organizational efforts of Civilians for Zengo, Pécs Green Circle and Védegylet were complemented by the National Society of Conservationists, Young Greens, Greenpeace,

In order to bolster its radar capacities on its Eastern front, NATO has plans to build a new radar locator on the top of Zengo, the highest peak of the Mecsek mountains in Southern Hungary, as well as replace two existing locators elsewhere in the country.

With the Ministry of Defense in charge of things, and without consulting the public or local NGOs, plans were to march up the mountain and start cutting down trees this past weekend. Irregardless of the fact that this territory is located within a Nature protection area and provides the habitat for several unique, protected and highly protected plant species, for instance the peony Paeonia officinalis ssp. Banatica, where 90% of its total population is found.

Fortunately environmental groups were alerted in time and jumped into swift action. Including Civilians for Zengo, Védegylet (Protect the

Whenever they would remove one activist from a tree they were hoping to cut, many others then came to the tree's rescue, making it impossible for the tree-cutters to make progress.

As the permission to chop trees down was only valid until the 15th of February, the activists didn't have to wait too long until they could claim at least a temporary victory. The earliest legal date that the trees can be cut is next October. Yet there is reason to believe that tree-cutting might still occur illegally, in which case the operation, led by the ministry of defense, will willingly pay the accompanying fine. But victory for now.

In Hungary this was an unusual case of activists swiftly coordinating direct action as well as receiving major news coverage for an environmentally significant event.

"Food Not Bombs  
is nowadays the fastest  
growing group  
here in Hungary"

### Introducing Food Not Bombs Hungary

Food Not Bombs - as you know - is an international initiative, which is protesting with public food distribution against the system's profit centralized practice, which is destroying our society and our environment. The hungarian FNB group was organized by some hardcore-punk related people in the first half of the year 2002. In their first actions they were distributed ca. 50 servings - they cooked vegetarian food at their own flats. The activists payed everything from their own money. At that time they distributed preserved food - so they had to find the Hungry at the subways - with small leaflets.

In 2003 some new activists joined us; from that point we do more actions than former, and we are able to cook at 3 or 4 places so as we could distribute ca. 200 portions. At nowadays we usually go to a large square (where are a lot of hungry people and the traffic is also not too small). In 2003 we've won a competition, so we had had money for the winter's actions. There are some small groups, which support us sometimes. In recent months there are more and more new activists, so sometimes we could distribute food even in one week periods - many activists say Food Not Bombs is nowadays the fastest growing group here in Hungary.

During our actions we are distributing leaflets, which are our manifestos for solidarity and communication.

*Food Not Bombs  
Hungary, Budapest*

### Institute of Anarchist Studies supports Czech radical writer

Institute of Anarchist Studies IAS, have announced that with support of over 100 individuals and organizations, they were able to meet their 2003 fundraising goal of \$23,000 US.

As well, they have already awarded some of the money raised to two projects as part of their grant program for radical writers. One of them is Marta Kolarova for her project *Gender in Czech Anarchist Movement*. "Every year the Institute for Anarchist Studies awards \$8000 USD to radical writers from around the globe in need of financial support. Through the IAS's granting program we are able to support radical scholarship on anti-authoritarian subjects and further the fight for a free world".

"Gender in Czech Anarchist Movement" Marta Kolarova

This project, based on interviews with activists and a review of local anarchist literature, is a case study on the Czech anarchist movement from a gender perspective. As a former Soviet bloc country, the triumphs of second wave feminism have yet to fully articulate themselves within radical movements in the Czech Republic. In this study, issues of representation of men and women, gender based division of labor in movement organizations, and movement discourse on feminism and anarchism will be described and analyzed. The author will offer a reflection of the activities of the Czech movement, how it attempts to address oppression in the wider society, and how it reproduces certain inequalities in the movement.

### Squat "Pekarnia" still exists, now with a new name: "Klizma"

St.Petersburg-Russia; update 11/02/2004

After the eviction of squat "Pekarnia" at 7th of November 2003 the house was empty and quiet for some time. Just after the eviction it seemed very possible that cops would kick out also the homeless people from the second floor and close the house. But after the eviction the cops left the house undisturbed, so the third floor was squatted again.

A few months squatters renovated the house again, built new heating systems etc, but anyway it still is fuckin cold there, sometimes even colder than on the street. In spite of the temperature down to -20 degrees, the anarchist-antifa-group "Punk Revival" hold their weekly meetings in the squat and other people also hang around there daily. The place is again free for different anarchist and con-

tra-cultural meetings and happenings. On 28th of January 2004 the first half-unplugged-punk-concert took place at the squat with bands "Wheel of Dharma" (Tampere, Finland), "Ankylym" (SPb, Russia) and "Dynkelhayt" (SPb, Russia). Many folks, around 70 people gathered for the concert. There worked vegan kitchen. There is an idea to open more or less regularly a cafe-bar in the squat in the near future. From now on cultural life at the squat seems to be more active, the next concert will take place on 14th of February, and there will be even some sound systems and drums). If you would like to play a gig or just want to come to the squat, contact [tulsi@mail.ru](mailto:tulsi@mail.ru) or [akop38@yandex.ru](mailto:akop38@yandex.ru).

### Latest news from Toruń; Poland

On 30th of January at 5 pm, there was an anti-nazi demonstration in centre of Toruń at Szeroka Str. This demonstration was an answer to nazi-skins from Toruń, because lot of them are recently beating young people on the streets (not only foreigners). Antifascists have showed a power of anti-nazi spirit in Toruń and they also draw people's attention to this problem, which started last autumn. They wanted to show that we're not afraid of fascists and they're ready to answer and react on every even smallest manifestation of their activity and that was a destination of this march. The demonstration was organized by association "Kolektyw Autonomistów" and Anarchist Federation from Toruń, which are active in the anti-nazi movement. The demonstration counted 300 people mainly from Toruń but there was also people from Białystok, Bydgoszcz, Grudziądz, Łódź, Olsztyn, Poznań, Szczecin, Warsaw and Wrocław. This event had some far-reaching repercussions in media.

On 13th and 14th of March there was planned 2 days meeting about work of Indymedia and up-coming

protests against European Economic Summit / World Economic Forum, which will take place on 28-30 of April this year. The meeting concerns firstly, making of independent media in Poland and secondly, workshops and films about world domination of multinational corporations, which are started buying and exploiting citizens of Middle-Eastern Europe. People from few polish cities, like Warsaw, Wrocław, Poznań, Gdańsk, were invited. Info - Indymedia Toruń: [ime-pl-torun@lists.indymedia.org](mailto:ime-pl-torun@lists.indymedia.org)

On 2nd and 3rd of April association "Kolektyw Autonomistów" is organizing an event according to upcoming protests against EES/WEF in Warsaw. This event will take place in "Bunkier/B48" on Wschodnia Str. The program Contents: films, workshops, exhibitions, meetings, concerts. Info:

[michoo77@poczta.onet.pl](mailto:michoo77@poczta.onet.pl), [libertija@poczta.fm](mailto:libertija@poczta.fm)

*Traditional alternative centers in Toruń: "Pilon" (anarcho-punk-pub) and "Bunkier-B48" club (addresses in Communities in Struggle chapter)*

### Feminist festival

"day of defender of the defender"  
in Moscow 6th-8th of March 2004

Two popular Russian celebrations - 23rd of February and 8th of March already long time ago lost their original meaning, and they have become celebrations of strong man and weak woman. "Strong" and "weak" are by far not the only epithets stuck with concepts of "male" and "female". Gender stereotypes are reproduced first of all in language and culture. Question who should defend whom and why, and who are feminists, why feminism in Russia, and also many other topics were discussed in materials and discussions of the festival. In 8th of March a non-legalized demonstration-happening under theme "Shut up woman - your day is 8th of March" took place in the streets of Moscow.

#### Slap to the face of the social taste

This year 8th of March in Moscow was sunny and warm, which is unusual. Melted by sun and idleness, examples of homo sapience of both sexes were wandering in the streets of the city in festive mood. But soon malicious feminists showed up and spoiled everything. We made simultaneously a demonstration and political carnival. For people passing by it was not that easy to figure out what did we really wanted. One could believe, that part of the march was really for patriarchy and for pushing women back to kitchen, since such ideas are much more often heard in our society than feminist ones. Others thought that we were just out of our minds - why to spoil people's mood by playing the buffoon, making noise and shouting during a general holiday! But most clever ones figured out what was our point - much of respect to them, and welcome to our ranks! About half of our column was representing patriarchal way of life. Our biggest and best banner stating "Shut up woman! Your day is 8th of March!", was carried by three young women with stuck up mouths. They were followed by a young not old pair, who however were already literally chained by ties of marriage. Their mouth was stuck up as well. A girl in a dressing gown and kerchief reminded everyone, that her place is in the kitchen. Another person with pan and apron carried with her full schedule of her life - breakfast, cleaning, laundry, stove, lunch. Next had a honest plate - "long hair, short mind" and waved with the journal *Cosmopolitan*. Colon had also pregnant and feeding mothers, fulfilling their patriotic mission, with placates stating "Our children are good cannon fodder for our motherland!". There was a woman of indefinable age with string-bag, backpack, children and placate "I am a horse, and a bull, I am a molly and a lad". There was a girl in a scarf, and placate "Chicken is not a bird, woman is not a human", together with a pretty lady with placate "My profession is a secret". Our demonstration began in statue of Krasnaya, who unfortunately was not exactly a feminist. We were marching, making noise with pans, whistles and slogans. When we arrived to Myasnitskaya street, we turned towards Lyubianskaya square, and through Nikolskaya street to Red Square. In Red Square we met first cops, but we were not in a mood to have a talk with them, so we went on to Manezhnaya square. Cops decided that it was not their section of the city anymore, and shook their hands happily. We went around on roof of underground shopping centre of Obchody Ryad, saw some cops again but still decided not to deal with them. We finished action, altogether it went on 50 minutes no permissions asked or received. In Manezhnaya square, in traditional place of political demonstrations which during last 15 years has been turned to poppy commercial-entertainment area, happened a general liberation from bonds of the patriarchy. All its symbols and attributes were thrown away and trampled on. Down with the patriarchy! Equality, freedom and anarchist feminism! After few more slogans sounded we started on to celebrate day of solidarity of women in struggle for their rights. *Slap*

*"Polish repressive forces, so efficient when it comes to fighting anarchists and anti-fascists seem to be not very willing to put same standards for nazi scum. Well, nothing surprising for anyone interested in subject. State and nazis often go hand in hand."*

## ANTIFA REPORT POLAND

There was a lot of talking about nazis recently in Poland, even special TV report had been broadcasted in national program. It was result of recent raid by ABW (Polish secret service) on people allegedly connected with Polish chapter of Combat 18. Existence of this chapter was suddenly discovered by some journalist and covered in main national newspaper *Gazeta Wyborcza*.

There would be nothing strange about that (terrorism is always good subject to write about) if not for fact that anti-fascist, without whole arsenal of resources available for cops, knew about Combat 18 for 2 years already. It just again proves that cops are never really interested in doing something against nazis unless they cross the line. This time Polish cops moved after receiving requests from German cops. Nazis in at least 4 cities had been raided, computers seized and some materials, pointing at contact between Polish and British nazis had been discovered. Also it was revealed that Combat 18 newspaper had been printed in Poland. After interrogations all nazis were released from custody and no charges had been made. Cops said that they need to check if seized propaganda promotes fascism and how exactly praising national-socialism should be called? Polish repressive forces, so efficient when it comes to fighting anarchists and anti-fascists seem to be not very willing to put same standards for nazi scum. Well, nothing surprising for anyone interested in subject. State and nazis often go hand in hand.

This is kind of background. Lets take a closer



Polish Nazi-skinheads on the border to Germany

look on far right scene in Poland.

option, but now obviously decided that if you can't win with enemy, you have to join him.

### POLITICAL PARTIES

#### Liga Polskich Rodzin (League of Polish Families)

Its a main far right party in Poland, with strong representation in government. They are alliance of smaller right wing parties. Majority of them are fanatical catholics and anti-abortion fundamentalists. Many of them are also quite openly anti-semites. Their main guy in Parliament, Roman Giertych, comes from party called Stronnictwo Narodowe (National Faction), which is openly fascist (of course without using this unpopular word "fascism"). Now they plan to start in elections to European Parliament. Before EU voting in Poland they presented anti-EU

#### Młodzież Wszechpolska (All-Polish Youth)

They are kind of youth group of LPR. They have many fascist skinheads in their ranks, but recently they try to move more and more into "respectable" positions. They are infamous for protests against homosexuals, foreigners and abortion. Recently they lost some influence because group of "radicals" left their ranks, being angry at their "softness" and being involved more and more in making political careers. In some places this split became violent, like in case of Białystok, where it ended in quite serious fight between splitting fractions

#### Narodowe Odrodzenie Polski (National Rebirt of Poland)

It used to be very influential national-radical group, having big part of fascist skinheads in their ranks, with chapters all over Poland. Nowadays they keep their influence only in few cities of South.

#### Samoobrona (Self-defence)

It is a populist party with strong representation in government. It is very hard to say definitely what kind of position they have, since they claim so many ideas at once, that often completely contradict each other. Their leader, Andrzej Lepper shows himself as a total leader of his party and indeed, everything is grouped just around him. Alarming point about this party is that they will probably move to fascist position if this would be popular among people at the moment. Also in some local chapters they accepted activists of nazi-pagan group Niklot as their members and used them as security on party events.

### NAZI AND FASCIST GROUPS



Nazi-skins in attack on "legalize Marijuana" demo

There are few more informal fascist groups in Poland. In general there is still old division existing between fascist skinheads - some of them claim to be "national-radicals" and often have negative approach towards nazis. Others are national socialist ones. Of course this division in general doesn't stop them from co-operation almost everywhere against anti-fascists or immigrants.



Blood& Honour  
Ian Stuart Corps

This is effect of close co-operation between few nazi skinhead organizations that existed for last few years in Poland. Finally few months ago Blood&Honour Trojmiasto, B&H West Poland, NS Skinheads Lublin, North Eastern Land (Bialystok) and few smaller groups united their numbers to appear as one organization. They have pretty good contacts with other countries, managed to organize some nazi concerts and in general are quite serious threat. Good point is that they are continuously rigged with personal and inter-group conflicts.

#### Combat 18

Many articles were written about this mythical group. For sure there are some nazis who sympathize with this organization because there is C18 web site in Polish and probably as it was mentioned before, C18 paper had been printed here as well. Also there was a case in Swidnik near Lublin, that one nazi blew himself up when he accidentally triggered bomb he made. After this case police discovered group of military hobbyists that were infiltrated by nazis (but not openly). As far as our information goes, people doing C18 in Poland are rather new generation of nazis, than old veterans.

#### Ofensywa Narodowo-Radykalna (National Radical Offensive)

Group that gathers national-radical skinheads in their ranks, active only in area of

Czestochowa, with few dozen active members.

#### WHITE POWER MUSIC SCENE

White Power scene is rather strong in Poland. There are few labels releasing thousands of CD's and tapes with nazi music such as Strong Survive (connected closely with C18 crew), Fatherland, Ultima records, Narodowa Scena Rockowa (this one criticized heavily by many nazis for piracy and rip-offs). There are few big distributions also, main one being Odlam. What is interesting this distro is selling also apolitical and even left wing of music. Seems that for owner of this business its money what matters most.

There are also few magazines existing in Poland but only professional one is Rock Against Communism. It has very professional layout, good distribution and it sells in over thousand copies.

Main NS band from Poland -Honor- is not playing anymore, but its members are still involved in many projects. There is close co-operation between them and NS Black Metal band Graveland. In times that Honor was still playing, they released split CD together.

Another famous nazi band is Konkwista 88. They are still playing after some breaks. They are in serious conflict with many nazis because of accusation of rip-offs and also because one of band members is now drug-addicted junkie (you can imagine how does it look when few years ago they sang songs about shooting

drug users etc.).

There are few other important right-wing bands such as Glos Prawdy (Voice of the Truth) being main band of national-radical faction. Of course naming all nazi bands is without any sense, I just mentioned most important ones.

#### ... BUT RESISTANCE CONTINUES

There are only few militant antifa groups left in Poland. Some years ago there were antifa cells almost everywhere, but after "anti-fascist" paper Nigdy Wiecej (Never Again) started openly cooperation with police in name of "anti-fascism" and they heavily criticized more militant actions of antifa, many people got disillusioned with anti-fascism.

Presently there is Radical Anti-Fascist Action in Bialystok ([www.antifa-wildeast.prv.pl](http://www.antifa-wildeast.prv.pl)) group, ANTIFA in Lodz and few smaller groups elsewhere. Recently there was big anti-fascist demonstration in Torun, where nazis made some troubles some time before and people decided to react. This was first antifa demo in Poland somewhere else than in Lodz or Bialystok and it also attracted significant numbers of antifas from other cities (there were together about 300 people on the demo). Militant antifascism in its organized form exists only in Bialystok and Lodz. In other cities there are some small groups active on that field as well. We can also witness in last few years arise of anti-fascist skinhead culture.

Both ANTIFA and

RAAF groups have street oriented approach towards nazis. We realize that those who control the streets control everything, then ideal situation becomes "wherever they go, we go". Both groups try to put it into practice by smashing meetings of nazis, countering their actions, organizing militant antifascist patrols on the streets and trying with more or less success to appear everywhere fascists or nazis try to organize anything. Both antifa groups also were kind of defence groups for local squats or autonomous centers during times of attacks, they have a role of security group during demos etc. These groups also try to counter nazi propaganda by putting lots of their own in form of graffiti, stickers, posters etc.

Active resistance to nazis was met at least in case of Bialystok with serious state response. Police obviously during first years of the squat gave nazis green light to attack this place but used every opportunity they had to criminalise anti-fascists. Till now we had few comrades serving time in jail, many more on suspended sentences, some trials are still going. Thanks to good solidarity, especially from foreign antifas and anarchist, we managed to defend ourselves and survive wave of repression.

WE ARE GOING TO WIN THIS STRUGGLE!

**RAAF**  
Radical  
Anti-Fascist Action  
[wildeast@poczta.onet.pl](mailto:wildeast@poczta.onet.pl)

**ANTIFA Lodz**  
[bigfoot69@poczta.onet.pl](mailto:bigfoot69@poczta.onet.pl)



# WOULD IT REALLY BE MORE DIFFICULT TO LIBERATE CHECHNYA THAN IRAQ?

## FRAGMENTS OF "CHECHNYA NEWSLETTER"

In the past year we were presenting on our pages many different articles and analysis of the situation in Chechnya. These were mostly texts written by Russian anarchists from various groups. These positions and these critics are the closest to our own ones even if, sad but honest, it is hard to see at the moment any possibility for real changes in Chechnya-drama through ways proposed by anarchist spectrum. This is for example for that reason, that as you can guess, anarchist understanding of this conflict is much less popular compared with common opinions and reactions in Russian and Caucasian societies. Just to give you at least a little bit of those "not necessary anarchist" understanding of situations we decided to print some reprints of different sources. These materials are regarding different aspects of that conflict, such as war, terror or refugee's problems. A very good, heterogeneous and complex source of materials for such a research is given by an unregularly appearing "Chechnya Newsletter" made by Bas Moreel. So this what you can find below is nothing more than fragments of "CN" including an introduction by its editor. We have spared you declarations made by both, Russian and Chechen, political leaders which "CN" as well included.

*AbolishingBB*

### CHECHNYA NEWSLETTER

No 4 - February 2004

(fragm.)

The explosion in the Moscow metro on 6th February (irrespective of what the real cause was) forces me to remind readers of the ongoing war in Chechnya, although the media, both mainstream and alternative, keep most of the time silent about it. Would it really be more difficult to liberate Chechnya than Iraq? It might put an end to much of the terrorist dangers as there is little danger that Russia would be able to muster suicide bombers like those humble Imams, and WGB would become the hero of the Muslim world. Anyway, here are a few items from some of the sources listed at the end of this newsletter. Unfortunately, I was unable to copy the interesting report on the explosion Radio Liberty had on their website on 9.2, and according to

which it might not have been a terrorist act at all, because no bomb shrapnel had been found. Strangely, I didn't find the report in the morning of the 10th, perhaps because the archive for the 9th wasn't ready yet.. The report said also that the Russian police was too corrupt and too inefficient to make efficacious security checks.

(...) The last item is an open letter to president Putin about the badly ended hostage taking of the visitors of a musical "Nord-Ost" in autumn 2002, about which there have been serious suspicions that the authorities had a hand in it. Bas Moreel

\*\*\*

### ALEKSANDR LITWINENKO ON THE EXPLOSION IN THE MOSCOW UNDERGROUND

*Prima-News Agency  
6.2.2004*

Prima-News Agency spoke about to-day's explosion in the Moscow underground with Aleksandr Litwinenko, former officer of the Russian secret service FSB, now living in England as a political refugee and author of "The blowing up of Russia by the FSB" and "LPG - the Lublyanka Criminal Gang". He draws a parallel between the explosions in Moscow in 1999 and to-day's explosion. "The motives and aims behind them are the same and they bear the same signature. The FSB tries to frighten the people so that they support the present power wielders without complaining". The former FSB lieutenant-colonel holds that anybody who wants to help the FSB can have caused the explosion irrespective of his or her nationality including a citizen of Chechnya. "Readiness to help the FSB is mostly obtained by blackmailing and threats". Litwinenko is convinced that the explosion will be followed by a wave of political repression, a harder political line for the

population and restrictions of civil liberties. He said that, after he had spoken on radio "Echo Moskwy", representatives of the authorities had called the station telling them not to allow Litwinenko to speak on their radio again. According to

Aleksandr Litwinenko, the FSB is behind this and all such terrorist acts with president Putin personally responsible.

\*\*\*

### REFUGEE CAMP TO BE CLOSED DOWN

*Kavkazski Uzel  
6.2.2004*

"One of these days I will sign an order to close down the "Bart" tent camp", Major-General Yunash of the Federal Migration Service said at a press briefing on February 5. "There are not more than 680 people there. A camp should house at least 1000 people to be economically viable.". Bart is a tent camp for Chechen refugees in Ingushetia. According to Major-General Yunash, "Most of the inhabitants will go to Chechnya". Those who wanted to stay in Ingushetia would get normal housing. Those who come to Chechnya would get good housing too. The editors of Kavkazski Uzel point to an article "Only 3 families left Bart last week" on their website.

\*\*\*

### NO DECENT LIVING CONDITIONS FOR REFUGEES

*Kavkazski Uzel  
8.2.2004*

According to journalist Anna Politkovskaya (a specialist and writer of a book on Chechnya, BM) says that it is simply not true that the returning refugees will get better housing than in the "Bart" camp. "Three days ago I was in an estate where 50 families from the "Bart" camp will be sent to on the 10th of February. All I found there were small houses made from logs without any infrastructure and without facilities. Workers were hurriedly putting toilets together". Ms Politkovskaya did also not believe that those who stayed



in Ingushetia would get normal housing. "As far as I know, there is no housing for them. There are ramshackle cottages for refugees of the time of the conflict between Osetia and Ingushetia who have been waiting for housing for years. It's just government talk for people who don't know what the situation in Chechnya is like, simple window-dressing for the presidential elections in March. "The bureaucrats have to get the refugees away, so that we don't see them. After the first of March they will say, there are no refugees; the president has solved the problem.". Ms Politkovskaya added they are no longer loading people on horse carts like in 1994 but they cut the gas off and constantly harass people whom they want away.

\*\*\*

## PURGES CONTINUE

Prima-News Agency  
29.1.2004

So-called house-to-house purges continue in various parts of Chechnya. Russian military and members of various police forces arrest tens of people, of many of whom, subsequently, is not heard any more. According to information from the SNO, such purges were held recently in the districts Nozhai-Yurt, Itum-Kaln en Weden. On the 28th January started a big "special operation" in the village Alera in Kurchalo district. According to information obtained from inhabitants of neighbouring villages, all the roads into and out of Alera were closed off by tanks and military. All the houses were searched and the identity papers of all people checked. So far, nothing is known about the people who have been arrested. At dawn on the 28th, masked Russian military broke into the house of one Tagirov in the town of Shali and took him with them without explanation. It seems he is in jail. The reason of his arrest is unknown. On 19th January, Chechen collaborators of the Russian police arrested the 20 year old Rosa Mutaeva in Assinov in Sunzhen district. Until now her whereabouts are unknown.

\*\*\*

## MILITARY ROBBERS

Prima-News Agency  
2.2.2004

According to inhabitants of the village Starye Atagi a group of masked military broke the entrance door and entered the house of Mrs Tamara Tataeva during the night from the 28th to the 29th of January. They pushed her with her two children, one of whom not even a week old, onto

the street (during the night in January!), took audio- and video equipment, four hundred dollars and all they could find of any value and disappeared.

\*\*\*

## ACTS OF RESISTANCE?

Radio Swoboda  
9.2.2004

One person was killed and three wounded to-day when a car of the Russian secret service FSB drove on a mine in Achkhan-Martinovski district. In the October district in Grozny two collaborators of the Chechen security service SWD were shot dead this morning at the entrance of an apartment building. In the village Samashka the head of the local administration and two Chechen police men were wounded when unknown people who tried to kidnap a villager opened fire



on them.

\*\*\*

## THE DESTRUCTION OF CHECHNYA

Prima-News Agency  
3.2.2004

At 4.30pm on the 21st of October 1999 the Russian army launched "Land-Land" missiles to the most densely populated areas of Grozny, the capital of Chechnya. They hit the central maternity clinic, the central market, the "Olimpiyski" area, the main post office and the mosque in the "Kalinin" area. 137 people died and more than 260 were wounded. A week later the Russian air force launched a number of missiles on refugees. Prima-News Agency posts two testimonies of these events taken from a collection of materials prepared by one Mairbek Taramov under the title "The Russian Crime of the Century in Chechnya".

\*\*\*

## AN OPEN LETTER TO PRESIDENT PUTIN

Prawa Celoweka v Rossii  
(Human Rights in Russia)

9.2.2004

Vladimir Vladimirovich!

A few hours ago Moscow was again hit by a terrorist attack. Again people ran around hospitals and morgues looking for family members. How many tears will be shed again! How long will we, parents, continue to bring our children to school fearing the worst and to not let them go to concerts, theatre, sports events, exhibitions, festivals? How long will fear of new terrorist acts continue to hold the people of Russia in its grip? The governments of Russia and of Moscow have refused to draw the bitter lessons from the tragedy on Dubrovka Street. You haven't drawn any of the conclusions that imposed themselves. You have awarded orders and medals for the "brilliantly executed operation" but the victims of the tragedy were light-heartedly written off as victims of a natural disaster. Nobody has been punished for the errors made during the rescue operation. Not a single functionary has been taken to court for the chaos that was allowed to take place.

Apparently, you were not personally interested to find out how it was possible that a gang of more than forty people was able to get into Moscow with such a quantity of explosives and arms. After "Nord-Ost" (the performance in the theatre on Dubrovka Street during which the terrorist act referred to here took place, BM) the inhabitants of Moscow could again hear explosions: on Twerskaya Street, on Tushina airport and near hotel "National". And now we are again on the telephone seeking family members who have gone to work and have got involved in another horrible tragedy. With presidential elections only a few weeks away we ask you, Vladimir Vladimirovich, the bitter and painful question: are you really the GUARANTOR of our security, of our right to a human life?

Can we believe your words and your election programme and be convinced that in Russia, in the country in which we live, the President does everything in his power to make sure that the people can live in peace, have a right to simple human happiness and do not have to keep black clothes ready for the next funeral? To-day we are no longer asking, we demand that you GUARANTEE TO ALL OF US THE RIGHT TO LIVE IN SECURITY.

6 February 2004

The co-ordinating council of the regional public organisation "Nord-Ost" on behalf of all the members of the organisation.

## VERY LONG AWAITED ... REPORT FROM LATVIA

Almost a year there were no reports from Latvia, that's probably our fault - we were waiting for something worth to report to happen, and when it happened it felt too small for separate report. So - now some things are collected together for short story on updated situation in Latvia.

First of all - there was a court on 26 last mayday's critical mass bike riders - it was fun - because of police reports, where they were hardly trying to present us as criminals - but they failed - in Latvia's law they can sentence only the organizer of action - and the organizer is the person who declare her/himself as person in charge for action in local municipality or police - so, it's actually ok to make an actions here (with a bit caution), the main problem for successful public actions is lack of participants: people who care and are not afraid to show their opinion. Maybe that's the reason the first contemporary (there were a lot of anarchist papers in the beginning of last century (1903-1915) and few more punk orientated zines with anarchist touch in mid90's) anarchist zine was born. The first issue came out in the middle of summer and second one in the beginning of this year. The zine is called "PRETSPARS" (there is no direct translation to english, but it is something close to "counterforce" or "counterstrike") and it is for free. Contents of zine are very wide - from reports on local actions - to translations of classical and contemporary anarchism and situationism writings and poetry. Translations are very important here in Latvia, because there are lot of people who don't understand english in such a level to read books, and also lot of youth are no more familiar with russian language - the other main resource for translations is coming from neighboring Russia. The second issue (unlike the first) is more concentrated on certain themes - homophobia, anarchafeminism. In february with a help from lithuanian comrades the internet site was launched - <http://pretspars.hardcore.lt> - firstly planed as internet version of zine it developed to independent web media. Apart from zine's textual and printable versions ("pretspars 1" <http://www.neirothe.net/pretspars/pretspars.pdf> and "<<http://www.neirothe.net/pretspars/pretspars.pdf>>p retspars 2" <http://www.neirothe.net/pretspars/pretspars2.pdf>") it provides a news coverage and collection of DIY recipes for life and struggle. At the moment webpage is only in latvian, but soon there will be section of internationally understandable information about situation in Latvia. Along with zine and webpage the small book/zine distro is hold, so if there is any questions (about situation in latvia, distro, zine etc) please contact us through e-mail: [pretspars@riseup.net](mailto:pretspars@riseup.net)

Besides "pretspars collective" activities there are some very important ones, which must be mentioned. Almost every wednesday evening at the ecoNGO's "Green Liberry" maintained Green Library different activists and collectives gather to discuss (weather on some organized topic or just to communicate), to plan, to collaborate. Besides communication space, there are activist movie evenings and some acoustic concerts are taking place and it is great library too - the only one of kind in baltics. Check it on the net <http://www.zbzeme.lv/>.

Radical artist collective Open (<http://open.x-i.net>) in the beginning of march organized seminar "Communes after Communism" which took place in former soviet army (as well as tsarist army) military town district in city Liepaja. The seminar covered many themes from history of communes to direct examples of squatting in England, Germany and Russia. Lot of people participated and for the first time different latvia's activists and collectives were brought together so further common actions will take place really soon (Latvia's now becoming eastern fortification of fortress europe). So get in touch and see you in WA29!

## ALMOST THE CONFERENCE OF AUTONOMOUS ACTION - RUSSIA

Due to a low participation last conference of Autonomous Action was limited to an informal meeting. Besides groups from Ivanovo, Moscow, Nizhni Novgorod and Rostov-na-Donu, individual members participated from Tyumen of Siberia and Yaroslavl, guests from MPST (Moscow group of KRAS-AIT), group Ataka (Attack) from Izhevsk, Rainbow Keepers, Council of Revolutionary Anarchist Groups of Yaroslavl and Association of Anarchist Movements (ADA) participated. First day was mostly spent to hearing reports from regions.

In Yaroslavl all anarchist groups united to Council of Revolutionary Anarchist Groups (SRGA), from which eventually some individuals got expelled. ADA members in Yaroslavl are publishing paper "Vintovka" (rifle). Anarchists participated to foundation of gay liberation movement "Light-blue Panthers" (Golubye Pantry). Nazbols beat up anarchists a couple of times, it seems like conflict with NBP escalated in a moment when anarchists were not yet prepared. Also attempts to organise wider social protests failed, instead there has been plenty of small anarchist pickets lately.

Main projects of Nizhni Novgorod group is publication of newspaper "Situatsiya" and maintenance of site of Autonomous Action, [www.avtonom.org](http://www.avtonom.org). There is discussion club "Pozitiv", which also organises movie showings. During Autumn few street actions were organised. Currently editorial board of Avtonom is based in Moscow. Website [antijob.nm.ru](http://antijob.nm.ru) is about to widen to "Network of workplace resistance" with correspondents from Saint-Petersburg and Omsk of Siberia. A-distro (a-distro.avtonom.org) has a wide collection of modern Russian anarchist press, which one may order by mail. In every Sunday "Bespartshkola", series of anarchist discussions and lectures is organised.

Group from Rostov-na-Donu is about to publish 5th number of local paper "Protest".

Group Ataka from Izhevsk is not interested in joining to AD, but would like to distribute press of any anarchist groups. Some 30-70 persons participated to anarchist Mayday 2003 in Izhevsk. Violent conflict with local section of fascist "Freedom Party" has went on for few months now. Future plans of anarchists from Izhevsk include activities against war in Chechnya.

### Discussions and decisions of the meeting

In Friday 6th there was an interesting discussion on topic of "aesthetics of Autonomous Action", in previous conferences and general meetings there has been heated discussions on style of journal Avtonom but this time discussion took a more general character. Needless to say, plenty of opinions contrary to each other were voiced - this time some missed early riotous style of Avtonom, some wanted to orientate more towards "average citizen" and social conflicts. (...)

It was too early to make decision on summer protest actions, it might be there will be protest camp against chemical complex in Perm of Siberia. There was discussion on international co-operation, 3 international anarchist structures (IWA, IFA and ILS) were presented. No-one had big enthusiasm to join anywhere, from these three ILS, mostly consisting of moderate" revolutionary syndicalists and platformists is only one members of which have invited us to join, but some people considered that policies of two previous ones could be more close to us. No any recommendations or decisions were made. Certain Moscow people considered participation of Peoples Global Action European conference to be organised in Belgrade next July important, some people announced interest in organising travelling there. Class War Federation was presented as well, some people in Moscow have lately established good working relations with this mostly British group and encouraged other cities to establish contacts with them as well.

Another discussion was on anti-repression issues, in time of meeting Dimitri Ryabinin was recently sentenced in Krasnodar, and it was expected that contact with him in prison could be established soon in order to plan further support work. Autonomous Action in Moscow is participating to work of Anarchist Black Cross group of Moscow, which is suffering from low interest among local anarchists, but among other groups there was no any big enthusiasm to organise anti-repression work. Proposals of Moscow group to co-ordinate anti-war actions of 23rd of February (60th anniversary of Chechen deportation) and anti-election activities were also met with little enthusiasm.

Most of the time in Sunday was spent for two very heated discussions - one on newspaper "Situatsiya", another one on question of cooperation with authoritarian of the left. Few from the editorial board of Situatsiya were present, so this discussion was mostly one-sided criticism on issues such as vagueness of anti-Bolshevik position and weak general level of materials in the newspaper. Participants of the meeting made a communiqué to editorial board of Situatsiya, most of participants demanding collective to withdraw from mandate given to them last summer (before a single issue of Situatsiya was published) for publication of the newspaper under label of the whole federation.

As for authoritarians of the left, Autonomous Action has quite clear anti-bolshevik position but still some sections and individuals keep bending policies by establishing contacts with various bolshevik parties. This time few participants had sympathy to co-operation with bolsheviks, and even some putsches were demanded. However decisions on making the policy more precise or on exclusion of some members may be made only in the next general meeting or by a general membership referendum. Few "unorthodox" opinions were voiced as well.



### War and the Arms Industry in Poland

The influence of the Catholic church in Poland is in decline. Although most Poles still identify themselves with the religion and even more bear the marks of its conservative impact on society, the state has shown itself as ready to take a different course on many and this is supported by many. So when the Pope, whom most Polish people tend to admire more than any of their politicians, spoke out against the War, the local churches made little to no effort to mobilize a peace movement or protest Poland's involvement in the War. Partly this was due to deep anti-Islamic prejudice. But something deeper has taken place in society and this is reflected in the concerns of the church. It is a transformation that was made long ago in much of the world but only more recently came to influence all aspects of Polish social life. The fact of the matter is that ethics of humanism has, in a large part, been replaced by the ethics of the almighty buck; while society at large can lament about 'lost lives' when discussing abortion issues, there seems to be nothing wrong with it if some Polish compa-

nies stand to make a buck on them.

The pipe-dream promises of jobs and future wealth made by the state, business community and media are so sporadic and flimsy that almost every potential business deal involving a Pole makes headline news "Opportunities for Polish butchers in the EU", "Norway wants our nurses", "We have a chance to win cleaning service jobs over German firms" ... ad nauseum; such headlines, reminiscent of both communist propaganda and the third world press are written with such emotion that it would be comical if it did not belie such a serious situation. But, of all the good opportunities opened for the country, nothing is talked of by the president and media with such pride as all the money that will come out of the war and Poland's participation in the arms industry.

It's the kind of topic that in many countries would create a public outcry. But not in Poland. There is a class issue - that people who have suffered from long-term unemployment maybe do not have the luxury of refusing to work in the arms industry is offered such a job. Still, with all sympathy for those who feel they don't have too many options, I can do nothing but condemn the aspirations of the Polish business community and the state to make money off of death.

There is now a proposal to develop an Agency in the Field of Defence Capabilities

Development, Research, Acquisition and Armaments and Poland would like to have this agency located here. Such is the extent to which the state plans to capitalize on the industry of war. (The welcoming of American military bases is another thing which will play an important role in presenting Poland as a major military player.) But if the Agency is just a dream for now - the realities of Poland's arms business is much worse.

Even though the arms industry is in 'decline' in Poland, there are still 29 weapons factories in the country. (There are perhaps more than 50 supplier firms.) A couple of Polish arms industry companies are foreign owned: aircraft engine producer WSK is owned by American United Technologies, and Spain's CASA, associated with EDAS aircraft is the majority shareholder in PZL. Of course this is a far cry from the times when at least 10% of the working population was employed in the defense industry, but it is still a significant industry.

In the arms trade, a few companies like Bumar stand out. It has been actively selling arms, tanks, etc. around the world for years. (Most recently it concluded a contract with India.) Presently there is a scandal in the industry about the market; it is mostly controlled by the former secret services and 'outsiders' are not easily given

licenses to trade on the international market. The industry has taken moves to 'consolidate itself' - in other words, to push outsiders off the market and put the arms trade in the hands of a few groups controlled by 4 main companies. So Bumar raised an international scandal when it found out that Ostrowski Arms, which is outside this cozy group, is a member of a consortium with Nour, which won a supply contract in Iraq. It has complained that Ostrowski has no right to sell on the market. In fact, this is not a big problem as we'll see in a second.

The realities of many tenders are quite a good example of the twisted logic of capitalism. Nour, who won the tender, will not actually produce the supplies. Nour, it seems, will Ostrowski. These companies are part of an intricate chain of middlemen whose services may actually in many tenders constitute the main part of the price. Nour is now looking for suppliers, and it seems that top on their list was.... none other than Bumar. So the loser of the tender may actually wind up being the main supplier. (Of course with less surplus value for the potential subcontractor than if they had the contract directly. But then the powers of be wouldn't have had such a good opportunity to grease the palms of key influential people.) But Bumar is not a sure bet, nor does it have to be the only supplier; Nour is actively seeking out

# COLUMNS

cheaper Bulgarian and Ukrainian suppliers.

And what exactly would Polish producers sell to Iraq? The list is very, very long but it includes:

2591 Honker ATVs  
1861 Star ATVs  
1690 9mm guns  
20000 AK-47s plus ammo  
1249 heavy artillery with ammo  
3000 light machine guns  
11727 radios

plus everything from goggles to bullet-proof vests to compasses

Akai-47



## Czech anarchists relationship to various issues

After the brief overview of the Czech anarchist movement in the last issue I'm writing something about relationship to various issues this time.

First take authoritarian left - trotskyists, leninists, stalinists. There are a few really small (up to 5 people) groups of them around, usually in form of branch of trotskyist's parties from England (like SWP etc.). The general agreement among Czech anarchist organizations is to not cooperate with these groups at all. The Czech anarchist movement in general also adopted the strategy of preventing authoritarian left from

agitating on anarchist actions by any means; even by the physical force if necessary. By agitating I mean handing out leaflets, selling papers or having banners, placecards or flags etc. There were some clashes first but since then this rule is accepted by people from authoritarian left.

In general there is a feeling that those groups of authoritarian left stand for the very opposite of what anarchists stand for. Therefore there is no point to allow them agitating on anarchist actions whose purpose is to present anarchist's politics. Authoritarian left is seen as enemy; especially the Federation of Anarchist Groups (FAS - see news in the end of this column) is very strict about it; they called authoritarian left "red fascists" and even published a book "Kronstadt 1921" by Paul Avrich. A lot of articles on this topic have been published in the A-kontra magazine, too.

The FAS as well as the FA have adopted this position from very beginning and have taken it as a basic principal matter. The Czechoslovak Anarchist Federation tried to cooperate with a few groups, as the CSAF and one of this groups (the Trotskyist one) were both part of the INPEG, an umbrella group organizing anti-IMF protests four years ago. But the praxis showed that cooperation is impossible as this group only tried to use that opportunity to promote itself and its politics. Since that, the agreement mentioned above is valid.

The second issue is non-governmental

organizations. Again, the FAS see them as mere enemies as they are the tools of the capitalism for them. Several members of the CSAF work in various NGOs, usually as volunteers, mainly in ecological and animal rights groups. Therefore, the position of the CSAF is not so strict and it cooperates with some NGOs time to time. I don't know too much about relationship of the Anarchofeminist group (AFS - see news in the end of this column) to NGOs, but I remember they gave them some credit for caring for victims of violence on women etc. in one of their leaflets.

The last issue I want to mention in this column are fascists or, more accurately, anti-fascist strategy.

Of course that fascists are taken as principal enemies of all anarchists everywhere, but there is a question of strategy. The Czech anarchist movement in general see fascism as a part of capitalist system ready to "clean the mess" when needed. The FAS (therefore also the AFA which is now the part of the FAS) adopted strategy of "revolutionary antifascism," which consisted of using every means to destroy fascists. They use and promote violence against fascists and then try to fulfill the political space left.

They also evaluate grassroots anti-fascist cultural actions as a good means of work. The ANTIFA Prague is more focused on cultural sphere, but ready to confront fascist everywhere too.

The A-kontra magazine recently gave

some space to Jakub Polak, former founder and editor of the A-kontra and one of the people who set up anarchist movement here. For years he has focused on helping victims and POZUSTALÝM of fascist's violence (mainly Roma people) to put the attackers to prison. He was involved in several cases of racial murders and it could be said that he really helped to find and sentence attackers by searching for proofs and witnesses as the police don't take these cases seriously at all; quite contrary. The FAS absolutely rejects this attitude as it helps to maintain capitalism and faith in the state according to them. In their opinion this is even anti-anarchists mean of work. The CSAF hasn't given the statement on that topic.

And now some news. The Federation of Social Anarchists changed its name to "Federace anarchistickych skupin" (the Federation of Anarchist Groups - FAS). Also the Feminist group of March 8 change its name to "Anarchofeministicka skupina" (the Anarchofeminist group - AFS). The Antifascist action from Brno, the last group of original AFA that work independently officially finished its work and people who didn't leave set up AFA-FAS group there.

This very author is an editor of the A-kontra magazine and could be reached on apf@seznam.cz. This column is the author's view although he tried to be as objective as possible.

# COMMUNITIES IN STRUGGLE

THE NEVER COMPLETE LIST OF ANARCHIST GROUPS,  
PROJECTS AND COLLECTIVES FROM EASTERN EUROPE.

## Armenia

"Proryv" - anarcho-communist group from Yerevan; <http://www.ad-em.narod.ru>  
vaga@freenet.am

## Belarus

ABC Belarus - Belarus 230023 Grodno p.o.box 217; [intolerant@autonomi.zzn.com](mailto:intolerant@autonomi.zzn.com); [www.anarchik-blackcross.by.ru](http://www.anarchik-blackcross.by.ru)

AFA (Antifascist Action) - Minsk; [restless81@mail.com](mailto:restless81@mail.com)

Anarchist Library - Minsk; [antyfa@mail.ru](mailto:antyfa@mail.ru)

Anti-McDonald - <http://belmac.narod.ru>; <http://kompaktor.narod.ru>

ANTYFA - antifascist group; [antyfa@mail.ru](mailto:antyfa@mail.ru)

Autonomous Action / Grodno - Grodno P.O.Box 38 230015 Grodno; Belarus.

Autonomous Action / Minsk - Minsk P.O.Box 34 220030 Minsk; Belarus.

"Ataka" - anarchist newspaper; [ataka@tut.by](mailto:ataka@tut.by)

BAF / Belarusian Anarchy Front - [baf@list.ru](mailto:baf@list.ru)

Belarusian Linux Community - [www.linux.litech.by](http://www.linux.litech.by)

"Ecoresist" - anarcho-ecological group; [ecoresist@tut.by](mailto:ecoresist@tut.by)

FAB / Federation of Belarusian Anarchists -

\* Minsk; P.O.Box 33, 220134;

\* Novopoloc; [nuts-l@rambler.ru](mailto:nuts-l@rambler.ru)

"Free Theatre" - anarchist theatre from city of Brest; [kscnia\\_izberg@mail.ru](mailto:kscnia_izberg@mail.ru)

KDS "Razam" / Confederation of Active Initiatives "Together" - 230005 Belarus; Grodno P.O.Box 237; [kds-razam@tut.by](mailto:kds-razam@tut.by); [www.razam.by.ru](http://www.razam.by.ru)

"Navinki" - satirical anarchist weekly newspaper; Minsk; [kampramat@tut.by](mailto:kampramat@tut.by)

"Rebellious girls" - anti-sexist initiative in Minsk; [rebelgirls@mail.ru](mailto:rebelgirls@mail.ru)

[www.anarchistory.boom.ru](http://www.anarchistory.boom.ru) - history of anarchy in Belarus

[www.375crew.org](http://www.375crew.org) - d.i.y. political punk \ hardcore culture of Belarus

## Bosnia & Herzegovina

Anarchist Collective "Slobodna Krajina" - Banjaluka; [ab\\_useyu@yahoo.co.uk](mailto:ab_useyu@yahoo.co.uk)

## Bulgaria

"Anarcho Sprotiva" (Anarchist Resistance) - newspaper; <http://resistance.hit.bg>

"Chlyab i svoboda" (Bread and freedom) - newspaper / discussion forum; <http://savanne.ch/svoboda>; [svoboda@bulgaria.com](mailto:svoboda@bulgaria.com)

"Anarchy in BG" - <http://change.to/anarchy>; [anarchy@bulgaria.com](mailto:anarchy@bulgaria.com)

[www.stand.at/struggle](http://www.stand.at/struggle) - anarchist web-site with lot of interesting historical material



anarchists; LK po box 223; 111 21 Praha 1; <http://alam.solidarita.org>; [intersec@solidarita.org](mailto:intersec@solidarita.org)

"PIPIRNA" - squat in Prague.

PH - international secretariat of CSAF; [intersec@csaf.cz](mailto:intersec@csaf.cz)

## Estonia

[www.hote.ee/anarhism](http://www.hote.ee/anarhism) - Future Anarchist Party of Estonia

## Hungaria

"Gondolkodo Barikad" - Logodi utca 51; 1012 Budapest (it is near Metro station "Moszkva ter"); open Monday-Friday 12-18; [www.ainfokini.hu](http://www.ainfokini.hu); [socialdisease.uw.hu](http://socialdisease.uw.hu)

[www.geocities.com/anarchoinfo](http://www.geocities.com/anarchoinfo)

## Latvia

PRETSPARS COLLECTIVE - zine, distro, web, actions - <http://pretspars.hardcore.lt>; [pretspars@riseup.net](mailto:pretspars@riseup.net)

"ZABADAKS"- DIY political/cultural project, infoshop etc; Vojtolsu 24; Kuldiga ; LV-3300 Latvia; [www.nckac.lv](http://www.nckac.lv); [maris.steinbergs@kuldiga.lv](mailto:maris.steinbergs@kuldiga.lv)

## Lithuania

[active@hardcore.lt](mailto:active@hardcore.lt) - LT activists network

"BENDRADARBIJAI" - autonomous culture centre in Siauliai; Vytauto g.103 A, Siauliai; tel. 370 69909049

[booking@hardcore.lt](mailto:booking@hardcore.lt) - booking in Lithuania

"GREEN" - diy culture club in Vilnius; Maironio 3 (in the yard), Vilnius; [booking@hardcore.lt](mailto:booking@hardcore.lt)

[www.hardcore.lt](http://www.hardcore.lt) - Lithuanian diy scene info resource on the net

## Macedonia

KOLEKTIV ZA SLOBODARSKA IDEJA

- anarchist collectiv in Skopje; [kolektiv\\_za\\_slobodarska\\_idea@hotmail.com](mailto:kolektiv_za_slobodarska_idea@hotmail.com); [slobodarska@zlipip.com](mailto:slobodarska@zlipip.com); [slobodarska@yahoo.com](mailto:slobodarska@yahoo.com); [slobodarska@hypocrisy.org](mailto:slobodarska@hypocrisy.org)

Plostad Sloboda (Freedom Square) - anarchist publisher; [plostad\\_sloboda@hotmail.com](mailto:plostad_sloboda@hotmail.com)

Direktiva Akcija - [directa@freemail.com.mk](mailto:directa@freemail.com.mk)

## Poland

ABC/ACK - [www.ack.most.org.pl](http://www.ack.most.org.pl)

ACK Warszawa - po box 30; 02-741 Warszawa 121; [biuletyn@ack.wpl](mailto:biuletyn@ack.wpl)

ACK Poznan - po box 5; 60-966 Poznan 21; [sach@poczta.wp.pl](mailto:sach@poczta.wp.pl)

ACK Białystok - po box 43; 15-602 Białystok 26

ACK Słupsk - po box 63; 76-200 Słupsk 12; [bifa@polbox.com](mailto:bifa@polbox.com)

# COMMUNITIES IN STRUGGLE

# COMMUNITIES IN STRUGGLE

<p><b>ACK Trojmiasto</b> - Bartek Pomierski, ul.Wiewiórcza 72; 80-126 Gdańsk; pomierz@friko2.onet.pl</p> <p><b>ACK Wrocław</b> - S.A.K.A. ul. Jagielonczyka 10D; 50-240 Wrocław; pbn@poprosto.pl</p> <p><b>ACK Lublin</b> - Piotr Hiller, ul. Cwiklinskiego 230; 20-067 Lublin; cqkier@poczta.onet.pl</p> <p><b>ACK Łódź</b> - CIL, Po BOX 203, 90-950. Łódź 1; falodz@poczta.onet.pl</p> <p><b>Anarchist Library</b> - ul. Pułaskiego 21a; Poznań.</p> <p><b>Anarchist Library</b> - ul Jagielonczyka 10D; Wrocław.</p> <p>"A-TAK" - anarchist magazine from Krakow; atak@poprosto.pl (contact); atak.dystrybucja@wp.pl (distro); www.red-rat.w.interia.pl/atak.html</p> <p>"A-zine" - an anarchist publication in english contains articles of polish anarchist groups. L.Akai, po box 227; 00-987 Warszawa 4. cube@zigzag.pl</p> <p>"BUNKIER" ("B 48") - underground concert/party space; ul. Wschodnia 48; Toruń; dr.ozdzu@interia.pl</p> <p>"C4" - alternative culture centre in Łódź (ul. Węglowa 4).</p> <p>"Czarny Blok" ("Black Bloc") - anarchist publication in polish; po box 43; 15-662 Białystok 26.</p> <p>"De Centrum" - anarchist squat in Białystok, address: ul.Częstochowska 14/2; www.decentrum.prv.pl</p> <p><b>EMANCYPUNX</b> - anarcha-feminist group; po box 145; 02-792 Warszawa 78.</p> <p><b>FA (Anarchist Federation)</b> - federation of polish anarchists consisting of many local groups.</p> <p>FA-Biala Podlaska - fabp@poczta.onet.pl</p> <p>FA-Bialystok - soja2@poczta.onet.pl</p> <p>FA-Czestochowa - akdelasiak@wp.pl</p> <p>FA/RSA Gdańsk - jwal@pg.gda.pl</p> <p>FA-Inowrocław - pychlu@poczta.onet.pl</p> <p>FA-Krakow - lukaslab@poczta.onet.pl</p> <p>FA-Lublin - salublin@poczta.onet.pl</p> <p>FA-Lódź - falodz@poczta.onet.pl</p> <p>FA-Opole - soboll3@o2.pl</p> <p>FA-Ostrowiec Sw. - marcin@natura.most.org.pl</p> <p>FA-Poznań - fa-poznan@o2.pl</p> <p>FA-Rzeszów - xjedrusx@o2.pl</p> <p>FA-Słupsk - onctibisaid@poczta.onet.pl</p> <p>FA/RSA Sochaczew - antinazi@friko6.onet.pl</p> <p>FA-Szczecin - fa_szn@interia.pl; winanar@wp.pl</p> <p>FA-Warszawa - natakr@poczta.onet.pl</p> <p>FA-Warszawa/Praga - hydrozag@poczta.onet.pl</p> <p>FA-Wrocław - ahni@o2.pl</p> <p>FA Zyrardów - sidtom@poczta.wp.pl</p> <p><b>Food Not Bombs / Gdańsk</b> - po box 118; 80-470 Gdańsk 45.</p> <p><b>Food Not Bombs / Olsztyn</b> - edchweiss@o2.pl</p> <p><b>Food Not Bombs / Rzeszów</b> - ul. Kustronia 6/48; 35-303 Rzeszów; tel.602769138.</p> <p><b>Food Not Bombs / Gliwice</b> - "S.E.K.W. Krzyk"; po box 2; 44-101 Gliwice. www.food.gliwice.com</p> <p>"FREEDOM" - Centre of Animation an Alternative Culture / Anarchist Centre &amp; Collective; ul. Jagielonczyka 10D; Wrocław. freedom69@go2.pl</p> <p><b>Grupa Anarchistyczna "Solidarnosc"</b> (Anarchist Group "Solidarity") po box 12; 60-975 Poznań 61.</p> <p>"INFOSZOP" - infoshop / anarchist &amp; feminist library / info cafe in Warsaw; ul.Lotewska 11; Saska Kępa; Warszawa. Open: Monday-Thursday 18<sup>00</sup>-20<sup>00</sup>, Saturday 13<sup>00</sup>-17<sup>00</sup>, Sunday 14<sup>00</sup>-17<sup>00</sup>; www.alter.most.org.pl/infoshop; tel. +48 503676482</p> <p>Inicjatywa Pracownicza FA / IP-FA (Workers</p>	<p>Initiative of FA) - federation of groups linked to FA focusing on support for workers;</p> <p><b>IP-FA / Szczecin</b> - Dominik Sawicki, po box 53; 70-474 Szczecin 34.</p> <p><b>IP-FA / Śląsia</b> - po box 2; 44-100 Gliwice; inicjatywa_silesia@hoga.pl</p> <p><b>KOLEKTYW AUTONOMISTOW</b> (Collective of Autonomists) - group of activist po box 13; 87-116 Toruń 17; michoo77@poczta.onet.pl</p> <p><b>K.U.R.W.A.</b> - Anarchist Revolutionary Coeducative Feminist Group; www.alter.most.org.pl/kurwa ; ptite@go2.pl ; cube@zigzag.pl</p> <p>"KROMERA" - squat/culture centre; ul.Kromera 6a; Wrocław.</p> <p><b>LETS</b> - Local Economy Trade System in Krakow. testcyf@kr.edu.pl</p> <p><b>LETS</b> - Local Economy Trade System in Poznań. lets@poland.com</p> <p>"LITTLE MARY" - anarchist squat in Częstochowa; ul.Warszawska 249/25;</p> <p>"Mac Pariadka" - anarchist magazine in polish; pariadka@polbox.com</p> <p>"PILON" - underground bar/café open Mo-Sa from 6pm; address: ulica Bulwar Filadelfijski - Toruń (under the only one car bridge in the city). pilon@poczta.onet.pl web: http://www.pilon.prv.pl</p> <p><b>RAAF</b> (Radical Anti-Fascist Action) - po box 43; 15-662 Białystok 26. pkropotkin@wp.pl</p> <p>"Radical Cheer Leaders" - anarchist female cheer leaders team based in Warszawa. Contact through Emancypunk.</p> <p>"ROZBRAT" - squat / anarchist centre, ul.Pułaskiego 21a; Poznań.</p> <p><b>S.E.K.W. "KRZYK"</b> - squat / anarchist centre, po box 2; 44-101 Gliwice (ul.Sienkiewicza 25; tcl.+48 504878370).</p> <p>"streFA" - infoshop in Szczecin; ul.Domanskiego 1c, tcl.504935357.</p> <p>"SZWEJK" - anti-military service; ul.Pułaskiego 21a; po box 5; 60-966 Poznań 31</p> <p>"TEKNO COLLECTIVE" - underground techno crew from Toruń; sadi@poczta.onet.pl</p> <p><b>WIEDZMA</b> (the WITCH) - anarcha feminist group; www.wiedzma.wpl</p> <p>"YA BANDA" - anarchist samba band Milanówek/Warszawa. olga23@go2.pl</p>	<p>www.ugtm.go.ro</p> <p><b>URA</b> - anarchopunk fanzine from Craiova; http://www.waste.org/~roadrunner/horea/roman.html</p> <p><b>LOVE KILLS</b> - woman anarchopunk zine / Craiova; libertaterra@yahoo.com libertaterra@yahoo.com</p> <p>"Revolta!" - bimonthly anarchist &amp; diy hc/punk newsletter / Timisoara; aactivistcollective@yahoo.com</p> <p>"Revolutionshop" - anarchist infoshop in Craiova; revolutionshop@hotmail.com</p> <p>www.projectns.org - grassroots activist site</p> <p>www.misceareapunk.go.ro - site about punk (and not only) in Romania</p>
<b>Russia</b>		
<p><b>Alliance of Kazan Anarchists</b> - antimil@narod.ru; http://antimil.narod.ru</p> <p><b>"ANARCHIVE"</b> - russian language electronic library and archive of anarchist theory and practice; http://archive.du.ru</p> <p>Anarchist group of Nizhni Novgorod - P. O. Box 25 603104 Nizhni Novgorod Russia ad_nn@mail.ru</p> <p>Animal and Earth Liberation in Russia - PO Box, 135, Sochi, Russia, 354065. e-mail: anliberation@rambler.ru</p> <p><b>ANTI-FA Samara</b> - anti_fa@mail.ru</p> <p>Association of Anarchist Movements (ADA) - see "Noviy Svet" newspaper contact address</p> <p>"Epicenter" - anarchist infoshop in St.Petersburg; Phone: +7(812)2323344; post: Epicenter c/o Vladimir Tarasov, PO Box 103, 190013, St.Petersburg, Russia. e-mail: epicenter-infoshop@nn.ru</p> <p>Free Trade Unions Confederation - Tomsk; http://kulac.narod.ru</p> <p>Indymedia Russia - (in Russian language) http://russia.indymedia.org; indru@mail333.com; indymoskwa@pochta.mt.ru (Moscow); indymedia_piter@pochta.mt.ru (Petersburg); smcshno@riseup.net (Kiev, Ukraine)</p> <p><b>IOKAS</b> / Irkutsk Organization Of Anarcho-Syndicalist Federation - www.angelfire.com/ia/IOKA; sidorovan@mail.ru</p> <p>JERRY RUBIN CLUB - Moscow punk club, cooperating with anaarchists and environmentalists; jc@nm.ru; http://jarryclub.narod.ru</p> <p>KRAS - IWA (Confederation of Revolutionary Anarcho-syndicalists) - Moscow; c/o Vadim Damier, -Perculok Alyanova 13 Kv 24; 107258 Moscow; comanar@mail.ru; http://www.geocities.com/libcomru</p> <p>"MEGAPHON" - magazine of anarchist, anticapitalist, antiwar, labour, environmental and other kinds of activism; megaphon@mail333.com</p> <p>"NOVIY SVET" - anarchist newspaper; newworld@mail.admiral.ru; http://novsvet.narod.ru (all issues since 1989).</p> <p>"NOZH i VILKI" - political punk/hardcore fanzine; zilonis@newmail.ru; Dmitry Ivanov, p.o. box 30, S.-Petersburg, 195009, Russia</p> <p><b>OLD SKOOL KIDS</b> - punk/hardcore label and distro; oldschoolkids@yahoo.com; http://oskids.nm.ru</p> <p>Petersburg Antiwar Committee - see "Noviy Svet" contact address</p> <p>Petersburg League of Anarchists - see "Noviy</p>		

# COMMUNITIES IN STRUGGLE

# COMMUNITIES IN STRUGGLE

Swet" contact adress

**RAINBOW KEEPERS** - radical environmental movement. Contact addresses:

- Nizhny Novgorod - klem@dront.ru
- Votkinsk - votkinskrk@mail.ru
- Kasimov - rk@tk.ryazan.ru  
(this is also the address of Tretiy Put magazine)
- Perm - puliark@rambler.ru
- Volgograd - masha@rambler.ru
- Ekaterinburg - vty2@mail.ru, dpu@ctel.ru
- Moscow - rkrz@seu.ru, blatoba@mail.ru
- Samara - duplo1@mail.ru, duplo@samtel.ru

<http://duplo.narod.ru>

- Rostov - rkrostov@don.sitek.net

- Petersburg - tuuli@mail.ru

**S.H. SOUND SYSTEM** - label & distro including political punk stuff;

<http://svinokop.narod.ru>; diyhc@yahoo.com

**Siberian Confederation of Labour** - Omsk; <http://syndikalista.narod.ru>

"UTOPIA" - anarchist magazine of revolution and counterculture Vladlen Tupikin, p.o. box 80, m-208, Moscow, 117208, Russia;

[utopia@mail333.com](mailto:utopia@mail333.com)

"Victor Serge's Library" - anarchist & communist library;

"VOLYA" - anarchist newspaper (since 1989); [obschtschina@pisem.net](mailto:obschtschina@pisem.net);

<http://volja.nru>

"ZHEST" - anarcho-feminist magazine; [zhest@pisem.net](mailto:zhest@pisem.net)

**AUTONOMOUS ACTION** network:

Autonomous Action - network of anarchist & libertarian groups all over Russia. po box 13;109028 Moscow. fak-kr@mail.ru

Autonomous Action of Krasnodar (also for Avtonom-paper) P.O. Box 3472, 350001 Krasnodar Russia fak-kr@mail.ru

Autonomous Action of Moscow P. O. Box 13 109028 Moscow Russia dikobrazi@lists.tao.ca

Autonomous Action (antiglobalist initiative project) - po box 3472; Krasnodar 350001. anti\_bs@mail.ru

"Avtonom" - regular publication of Autonomous Action.

Cities with individual members connected to Autonomous Action: (for Brest of Belarus, Kirov and Perm write to Krasnodar contact adress)

Alma Ata - P. O. Box 149 480 000 Alma Ata Kazakhstan ad\_eldar@hotmail.com

Belorechensk - P. O. Box 5,352630 Belorechensk; Russia sukivse@hotmail.ru - Brynka - P. O. Box 10. 94100

Chelyabinsk - P. O. Box 18742 454021 Chelyabinsk; Russia vital@chel.sumet.ru

Irkutsk - Vladimir Skraschuk Poste Restante 664056 Irkutsk; Russia

Izhevsk (Udmurtian republic) antiwar@udm.ru

Kaliningrad - ska-konig@mail.ru

Kasimov - P.O. Box 52 391330

Ryazanskaya oblast Russia - rk@lavrik.ryazan.ru

Kolomna - Yuri Popov Poste Restante 140476 Moscow oblast; glavpochta.ru

Murmansk - P. O. Box 4614 183050 Murmansk; Russia.

Novgorod - Vitaliya Lapikina Poste Restante 173014 Novgorod; Russia; holosik@yandex.ru

Novorossisk - P. O. Box 144/353907 Novorossisk; Russia; ger2@mail.ru

Rostov-na-Donu - P. O. Box 4059 344103 Rostov-na-Donu; Russia; neponyatny@pisem.net

Saint-Petersburg - Bolshakov A.E. Poste Restante 192281 Saint-Petersburg; Russia

blackguard@mail.ru

Sochi - d\_m@pochta.ru

Tyumen - P. O. Box 4481 625001 Tyumen; Russia;

rouston\_f@hotmail.com

Volgograd - Vyacheslav Yaschenko ul. Novorossiskaya 16-56 400087; Volgograd; Russia

Voronezh - au-action@rambler.ru Anarch-vm@yandex.ru

Yaroslavl - yar\_anarchy@mail.ru

Yekaterinburg - kreator@mail.ru

Yoshkar - Ola P. O. Box 76 424028 Mari Republic

Russia

Websies of groups linked to Autonomous Action: <http://ad-direct.newmail.ru> - federal site maintained from Novorossisk

<http://redskin.newmail.ru> - Red and Anarchist Skinheads RASH, maintained from Novorossisk

<http://antijob.nru> - site against work, maintained from Moscow

<http://anti-fa.da.ru> - Anti-fascist project "Black and Green resistance" from Samara

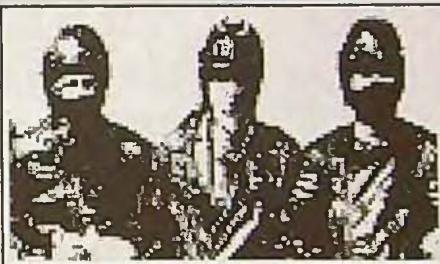
<http://potok.hotmail.ru> - website against Blue Stream gas pipeline, maintained from Novorossisk

<http://www.ad-nru.narod.ru> - Nizhni Novgorod group of anarchists

<http://www.poet5.narod.ru> - website of anarchist culture, maintained from Nizhni Novgorod

<http://www.tao.ca/~dikobraz/distro> - A-distro, biggest distributor of Anarchist literature in the former Soviet Union

<http://www.almaty-liberta.boom.ru> - Libertarian communists in Kazakhstan.



## Serbia

**ASI / Anarcho-Syndicalist Initiative** - is@inicjativa.org (international secretary); [www.inicjativa.org](http://www.inicjativa.org) Federation of Internationalist Anarchists - federacija@ml.net

**IAS-ADA** - anarchist library of local group of IAS; c/o Slobodan Gajin, Vojvodjanskih Brigada 15b/8, 24430 Ada

**RRR** (Radical Resource Room) - polit/cultural project in Kraljevo; kontra@ptt.yu; [www.kontrapunkt.info](http://www.kontrapunkt.info)

**Subwar Collective** - Belgrade; shavedmen216@yahoo.com

[www.anarchy-serbia.tk](http://www.anarchy-serbia.tk) - new anarcho side from Serbia

## Slovakia

**AFA-Bratislava** (Antifasisticka Akcia Bratislava) - bacity afai@yahoo.com

**AFA-West** (Antifascist Action in west Slovakia) - afaw\_sk1@hotmail.com

**CIRNY KRIZ** (CK, Black Cross) - ciemykriz@yahoo.com

**CSAF / Slovakia** - (CSAF - Czech-Slovakia Anarchist Federation); [slovensko@csaf.cz](mailto:slovensko@csaf.cz)

{international contact}; regional contacts:

**CSAF Bratislava** - bratislava@csaf.cz

**CSAF B.Bystrica** - bbystrica@csaf.cz

**CSAF Trencin** - trencin@csaf.cz

**CSAF Trnava** - www.trnava.cz

**CSAF Vychod** - csaf\_sk\_vychod@yahoo.com; Nakladatelstvo Bod Zlomu (NBZ, Point of Fault) - publisher of anarchist literature; lack of contact address.

**PRIAMA AKCIA** (Direct Action) - radical social anarchist organization / anarchist union; po box 16; 840 08 Bratislava 48; [priamaakcia@yahoo.com](mailto:priamaakcia@yahoo.com)

## Slovenia

**AFA LJ** - Antifasisticka Akcija Ljubljana; anarchist AFA group; [afa\\_lj@volja.net](mailto:afa_lj@volja.net)

**AKD IZBRUH KULTURNI BAZEN** - autonomous culture centre in squated swimmm-pool in Kranj; [www.akd-izbruh.tk](mailto:www.akd-izbruh.tk); [akd\\_izbruh@yahoo.com](mailto:akd_izbruh@yahoo.com)

**SAF / Social Anarchist Federation** - [saf.info@email.si](mailto:saf.info@email.si)

[www.ruleless.com](http://www.ruleless.com) - slovenian anarchist portal

## Ukraine

"anar akbar" - @-zine from city of Sumy, P.O.Box 131; 40-030 Sumy, Ukraine (no name on envelope!)

**Autonomous Action / Lugansk** - com\_act@mail.ru

"Nabit" - ukrainian libertarian anarchist newspaper, [www.nabit.info](http://www.nabit.info); [azeroff@hotmail.ru](mailto:azeroff@hotmail.ru)

[www.zarsaz.org](http://www.zarsaz.org) - page of anarchis from Kyiv

[www.tigra-nigra.by.ru](http://www.tigra-nigra.by.ru) - anarchist group from Kyiv

## Turkey

**ABC / Anarchist Black Crescent** - abcankara@yahoo.com

**"Isimsiz"** - anarchist counter-magazine; [isimsiz\\_dergi@yahoo.com](mailto:isimsiz_dergi@yahoo.com)

**"Kara Gazete"** - anarchist street newsletter; <http://karagazete.ports.com>

kara tren kolektifi (blacktrain collective) - traveling distribution of anarchist literature, info and material; [karatren@softhome.net](mailto:karatren@softhome.net)

<http://ankarasanzin.freeservers.com> - zine from Ankara

<http://veganarsi.cjb.net> - anarchist zine

[www.geocities.com/kaosyayinlari](http://geocities.com/kaosyayinlari) - anarchist publisher in istanbul

[www.mecmu-a.org](http://www.mecmu-a.org) - magazine from Istanbul

**THIS LIST CAN BE ENLARGE AND KEEP CURRENT ONLY WITH YOUR HELP,  
SO WE ARE CALLING ALL GROUPS AND ACTIVISTS AROUND THE EASTERN EUROPE  
FOR HELP THROUGH CONTACTING US EACH TIME WHEN YOU REALIZE  
THAT ANYTHING NEED TO BE CHANGE OR ADD ON THESE THREE PAGES.**

# Educate - Organize - Protest

28-30 of April

Warsaw - Poland

## Protests against the European Economic Forum Summit (Alternative Economic Forum)

[www.alter.most.org.pl/aes](http://www.alter.most.org.pl/aes)

24 of April - 1 of May

Zadar & Mursko Sredisce - Croatia

## NoBorder Activities

[ograniceni@yahoo.com](mailto:ograniceni@yahoo.com)

May 1

18th - 23rd May

Tabor - Czech Republic

## International Conference Media & Xenophobia

June 2004

Istanbul - Turkey

## NATO Summit

<http://haziran2004.cjb.net>

[antitoriter2004@excite.com](mailto:antitoriter2004@excite.com)

23-29 of July

Belgrade - post Yugoslavia

## The 3rd European Conference of the PGA (Peoples Global Action)

[www.pgaconference.org](http://www.pgaconference.org)

# Analyse - Resist - Create New